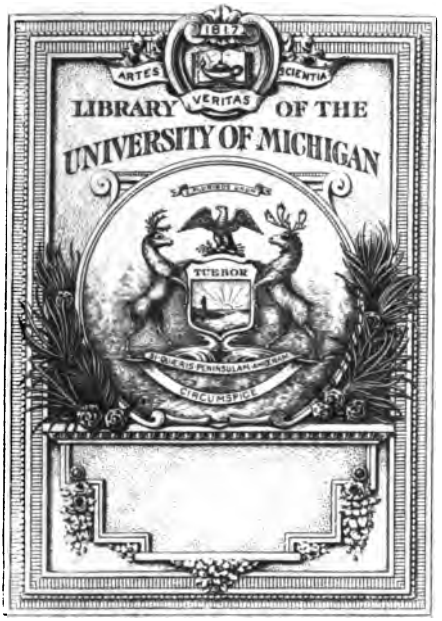
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MEMOIRS

OF

The DUKE of SULLY.

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P P Rubens pinx.
MAXIMILIEN DE BETHUNE
Duke of Sully. Great Master of the
Ordnance; Marshal of France &c.
born at Rosny in 1559. died at his Seat of
Villebon in the County of Chartrain Dec. 21. 1641.


HENRY. IV.
Surnam'd the Great LXII^d King of France
Died at Paris May 14th 1610. after
Reigning 21 Years.

MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

CONTAINING

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH, And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of HENRY THE GREAT.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand; R. and J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall; and W. SHROPSHIRE, in New-Bond-Street.

M.DCC.LXIII.

Memoires de Sully

To the High, Puissant, and Most Noble Prince

THOMAS HOLLES-PELHAM,

Duke of Newcastle, Marquis and Earl of Clare,

Viscount Haughton, and Baron Pelham of Laughton,

AND BARONET,

One of His Majesty's Privy-Council, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for the Counties of Middlesex, Westminster, and Nottingham; Steward, Keeper, and Guardian of the Forest of Sherwood, and Park of Folewood, in the County of Nottingham; One of the Governors of the Charter-House, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, First Lord Commissioner of His Majesty's Treasury, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, L.L.D. and F.R.S.

MY LORD,

AUTHORS are often unfortunate in the choice of their Patrons: and Works are devoted, with great solemnity, to the use of those who cannot use them, and the pleasure of those whom they cannot please.

THAT I have avoided this impropriety, in dedicating to your GRACE these MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF SULLY, a whole Nation, whose affairs you have so long and so happily directed, will bear me witness: But then, I can claim no praise from my own discernment; because I only echo the Voice of the People, and address myself where that leads me.

DEDICATION.

THOUGH my ſex and manner of life makes me a ſtranger to public affairs; I yet diſcover of myſelf, that the Hiſtory I have tranſlated, is not only intereſting but important: and that the original author of it was not only well verſed in all the prime operations of the government, but that he ſaved a Nation, by bringing method and order into every branch of her revenues, and adminiſtring the whole with the moſt accurate economy.

A Book, thus filled with political wiſdom, could be fitly offered only to Him, who lays out his whole time and attention, in labours of the ſame tendency; and for the ſervice of a more free, and therefore a nobler People.

THAT PROVIDENCE may co-operate with your endeavours; and that your GRACE may ſteer not only ſafely, but triumphantly, through every difficulty of the preſent conjuncture, are wiſhes ſo natural to all true Britons, that they cannot be thought improper even from a woman, and in this public manner. She is, with the profoundeſt Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your GRACE's moſt Obedient,

London, Sept. 5. 1755.

and moſt Humble Servant,

CHARLOTTE LENNOX.

PREFACE

TO THE

FRENCH EDITION.

AS in the judgment of good critics and lovers of literature, THE MEMOIRS OF SULLY have been always ranked amongst our best books, I have no need to enter here into a disquisition which will be of little use to those who are acquainted with the work.

To give those an idea of this performance who have never read it, it will be sufficient to tell them, that it contains a history of whatever has passed from the peace in 1570, to the first year of Lewis XIII. during a space of forty years, which is a time that has supplied the most copious subjects to the historians of France; and that it treats of the reign, or, to speak more properly, almost of the whole life, of Henry the Great. They presuppose, indeed, some knowledge of the foregoing commotions, which are only occasionally mentioned; but it displays all the

ſucceeding events with the utmoſt particularity. The events are equally numerous and diverſified; wars, foreign and civil; intereſts of ſtate and religion; maſter-ſtrokes of policy; unexpected diſcoveries; ſtruggles of ambition; ſtratagems of policy; embaſſies and negociations; are all to be found in this book; and all this is far from the whole.

The Memoirs of Sully take their value, perhaps their greateſt value, from the innumerable recitals of a private kind, which ſcarcely belongs to the province of hiſtory; this is the particular advantage of memoirs, they admit all ſubjects, however numerous, and all incidents however various, which one can deſire to inſert; and they are not ſubject to the burthen impoſed upon hiſtory, of continuing the narrative through dry generalities, with which even the writer finds himſelf diſguſted.

To obtain a compleat knowledge of any prince, it is neceſſary that the picture of his private life be ſet to view, together with his public conduct; he muſt be ſhown with his courtiers and domeſtics, in thoſe moments when he is little obſerved: his character muſt be fixed by his letters and converſation; the paſſions are better diſplayed by a ſingle word, related as it was ſpoke, than by all the art which a hiſtorian can uſe. This idea of memoirs is quite anſwered by thoſe of Sully; ſo that no man, till he has peruſed them, can

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have a juſt conception of Henry IV. They repreſent to us that great prince, in his good as well as his bad fortune; now as a private man, now as a king, as a warrior, or as a politician; and to come ſtill lower, as a huſband, father, or friend; and all told in ſo affecting a manner, that the reader cannot refrain from taking part in the moſt minute and indifferent incident of his life: at moſt, I can only except ſome military recitals, which occur perhaps too often at the beginning of the work, and a ſmall number of other paſſages leſs pleaſing; though on the other hand, theſe recitals are always connected with the public affairs, and diverſified, like the reſt, with the part which was borne in them by the duke of Sully.

He is as the ſecond actor, and this double action makes no breach in the unity of intereſt, becauſe this miniſter ſays almoſt nothing of himſelf, which has not ſome relation to public affairs, or the perſon of his maſter. The reader will, doubtleſs, be pleaſed to know what judgement was formed of theſe Memoirs when they firſt appeared in the world, and I ſhall give him information from the author of an old diſcourſe, to be found among the MSS. * of the king's library: "One of the "moſt beautiful pictures of human prudence "and fidelity, ſays he, is to be found in the "account left to the public, in two volumes,

* Vol. 9590.

" by the dukes of Sully, of the nature of the
" advice he had given, and the ſervices he
" had done, to his king and benefactor, as
" well for his particular and perſonal honour,
" as for the proſperity of his kingdom. And,
" in truth, the fortune of Henry the Great
" and the virtue of his prime miniſter, are
" two things which appear alternately, or,
" more properly, go hand in hand. The mi-
" niſter, in this work, ſerves and obliges the
" king, in all the ways that a king can receive
" ſervice or obligation from a ſubject, with
" his hand, his courage, his ſword, and even
" with his blood, or actions of bravery and
" adventure, but particularly in his council
" and cabinet, with the greateſt underſtand-
" ing, and moſt quick-ſighted policy, the
" moſt pure diſintereſtedneſs, and untainted
" ſincerity, that has ever been known to hi-
" ſtorians, either of our own or other coun-
" tries."

It is natural, in the reign of a prince like Henry IV. to look for great generals, deep politicians, and ſkilful miniſters; but we are ſurprized to find in one man, the warrior, the politician, the wiſe manager of buſineſs, the ſteady and unbending friend, as well as the cloſe confidant and darling of his maſter. But what is yet more uncommon, is to ſee in a work where the actions of two ſuch extraordinary perſons are collected after their deaths; a great king forced to make a conqueſt of his

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own kingdom, engaged with a minister, in his way, not less great, in contriving means to make his undertakings successful; labouring afterwards, in concert with him, to make his kingdom not only peaceable but flourishing, regulating the revenue, laying the foundation of trade, methodizing the government, and, in short, recovering every part of the establishment from confusion.

In this work therefore are comprized two lives united together, and illustrating and adorning one another, the lives of a king and a minister, his confidant nearly of the same age, carried on from the infancy of both to the death of the king, and to the retreat of the minister.

We may add, that these Memoirs of Sully are yet further valuable, by maxims of excellent morality, by politics derived from truth; by an infinite number of views, schemes, and regulations, of almost every kind, with which they are filled. The duke of Sully is said, by one of his cotemporaries, to have been the only man that ever discovered the means of uniting two things, which our fathers not only could not join together, but considered in their own nature inconsistent, the increase of the king's revenue, and the relief of the people. He that would have an idea of a good subject and an incorruptible minister, must look for it in this picture, where he will see œconomy in its full lustre, and policy in all its

practice; the art of using and of gaining power; the science of reigning as a man, and of reigning as a king; the finest instructions and most forceable examples of morality are here exhausted, and the whole supported and adorned by a knowledge of every thing, from the highest arts to the mechanic occupations.

HOWEVER high this praise may seem, I do not find that the severest critics depart much from it; one need only consult the abbot Le-Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, vol. II. book ii. p. 687. father Le Long, and a multitude of modern writers; for who is there that does not cite the Memoirs of Sully as the first political treatise that has shewn us the real power of this kingdom, and in which are contained the seeds of whatever has been done by Richelieu, Mazarine, and Colbert; and in which is opened the best school of the art of government?

I WILL now quit this consideration for another, which I neither can nor ought to conceal; the pleasure which so valuable a book affords, is attended with a degree of fatigue which makes this ornament of libraries useless to the greater part of readers.

THIS is to be imputed to want of method, and defects of style; the subjects lie here in great confusion; those who have ranged them propose to entertain us with particular recitals of military, political, and domestic affairs; but

but they neither know how to keep them apart, nor to join them properly: a fact is cleared up, or a narrative continued, at the diſtance, ſometimes, of an hundred pages; from the beginning of the firſt volume, one muſt often jump to the end of the ſecond: the letters of Henry, which ought to be regularly inſerted in the ſtory, are bundled up together and put by themſelves, or introduced where they only break the thread of the diſcourſe, to which very often they have no relation: the maxims of law and government are driven off to a diſtant part, where it is often difficult to meet with them; they have the appearance of an independent note, and one might have known, that the compilers were mere men of buſineſs, though they had not told it.

As to the diction, it is not going too far to ſay, that it has every fault which diction can admit; it is too much diffuſed, obſcured frequently by the enormous protraction of the ſentences, and frequently by the impropriety of the words, which are ſometimes creeping and low, and ſometimes ſwelled with ridiculous magnificence.

These two general reflections on the Memoirs of Sully, one ſhould have imagined might have put it into the thoughts of ſome of our beſt writers, to make that book agreeable, which is ſo intereſting and uſeful; the other, becauſe what they have good ariſes

from the ſubject, and what is wrong conſiſts only in the form in which they are ſhewn. It is allowed on all hands, that this muſt be excepted from the number of thoſe old books, which cannot be altered without being ſpoiled; but the danger of giving offence to the nicety of critics, has hitherto driven away all thoughts of ſuch an undertaking: and I confeſs that I could never have engaged in it, had I not been urged on by that fondneſs for the original, which brings the paſſions as well as the genius into a work, and makes us blind to all the obſtacles that may oppoſe us; for, to accommodate ſuch a work as this to the preſent taſte, a man muſt preſerve at once the fidelity of a tranſlator, and the liberty of a compoſer: he muſt carefully preſerve the ſenſe of his author, though he muſt abridge, tranſpoſe, and methodiſe his work.

An emendation, merely grammatical, which ſhould reach no farther than to change thoſe expreſſions, which are confeſſedly bad, and to retrench thoſe that are apparently ſuperfluous, would have been ſhort of the reformation which the ſtyle requires; and, if nothing had been attempted but to bring the ſcattered parts of the ſtory together, and methodiſe thoſe things that are out of order, to free the book from the inconvenience of confuſion, even this muſt have ended in the deſtruction of the text. I have tried every method that I could invent to avoid the neceſſity of taking the

the work wholly to pieces, and moulding it anew: but I saw, at last, that no other way would answer my intention: I was convinced that a style so faulty as that of these Memoirs, was far from deserving to be treated with the same respect as that of Comines, Montagne, and Amyot: that the mere general alterations, which are confessedly necessary, would change it so much from its present state, that to make it yet more different, was no great matter: and that these alterations, producing a necessity of connections and transitions, which would naturally be of a different cast of language from the rest, many patches of new style appearing in these pages of antiquity, would have been a disagreeable and dissimular mixture; and that the original must not only be cleared from a great number of odd expressions, but of unnatural and unusual ideas, which appears in the ridiculous singularity in the very title, Oeconomies Royales, & Servitudes Loyales: that such liberties as I have taken was necessary, in order to arrive at a just chronology and arrangement of matter: and that this liberty was consistent enough with the obligation of preserving the sense of the original, and suffering the Memoirs of Sully to lose nothing by being put into a new language.

In the first place, I found it indispensibly necessary to change this stated language of secretaries, who know nothing but to praise

and flatter. What can be more tedious than to ſee them, at every line, addreſſing their maſter to put him in mind of ſomething that has already happened, and to confeſs that he underſtands the buſineſs better than themſelves? This perpetual addreſs made the book little more than a long dedication; and yet this could not have been corrected without giving the work a new form.

I MUST add, that the hiſtorical narrative, which allows only the third perſon to be uſed, could not take place here, as I immediately found, when I endeavoured to apply it: for the Memoirs of Sully, as I have already ſaid, inſtead of one principal actor, preſent us with two, whoſe parts conſtantly intermingled in the recital, or who almoſt always make their appearance together, either talking between themſelves or with other perſons. The pronouns he and him, which in other hiſtories ſupply ſo conveniently the place of proper names, muſt, in a book like this, have been applied ſometimes to one, ſometimes to another, which would have produced an obſcurity not to have been avoided, but by repetitions and circumlocutions equally inconvenient. If to rid our hands of this difficulty, which will be generally perceived, this book had been entituled, Memoirs to contribute to a Hiſtory of Henry IV. and the relation had been contracted to the actions of that prince, this had at once cut off half the Memoirs,

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and perhaps that half which can leaſt be ſpared; for the life and actions of Henry the Great are every where to be found; but thoſe of the duke of Sully can be read no where elſe: and it had been ſtill leſs proper to have mentioned only the action of the miniſter.

THERE remained therefore only one ſcheme to purſue, that of making Sully tell his own ſtory. I yielded with leſs reluctance to this neceſſity, as I found it likely to be the ſource of new pleaſure; for nothing is more proper to throw over a work thoſe intereſting paſſages, which put the heart into emotion, than to introduce the principal actor in a complicated affair, entertaining you with an account of the part which he acted; and what an actor would he appear if one could attain to make him ſpeak as ſuch a miniſter, ſo favoured by his maſter, and ſo reſpected by all the ranks of the community, might be ſuppoſed to ſpeak at the preſent time.

THIS ſingle motive might prevail upon the public to grant me the indulgence which I require, for the only real liberty I have taken, if it ſhould be found that I have, in other reſpects, diſcharged the duty which this licence made indiſpenſible; but, as I cannot aſſume ſo much to myſelf, I ſhall found my defence upon a matter of fact; which is, that, in reality, the duke of Sully himſelf is the true author of the Memoirs which bear his name; ſince the original pieces are his own, and his

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ſecretaries did nothing more than ſtitch them together. This is eaſily perceived in ſeveral places, where the pen of the miniſter being with-held, either by promiſe of ſecrecy or ſome conſideration equally ſtrong, you ſee the reader's expectation diſappointed with regard to facts of which the ſecretaries themſelves had apparently not the leaſt knowledge. This is therefore no robbery, but an honeſt reſtitution, which I make to their maſter of his own works. In atteſtation of this, I can produce all our writers, who ſhew evidently when they quote the Memoirs of Sully, that they conſider them as the work of that great man, and depend upon his authority. The ſingle doubt of Vittorio Siri * is of no weight againſt ſo much evidence.

THIS critical diſquiſition I do not think of ſufficient importance or amuſement, to require that I ſhould tranſcribe whole pages to eſtabliſh this truth, by exhibiting the words of Henry, Sully, or the ſecretaries themſelves: he that thinks it worth his while, may conſult the places marked in the margin †. I ſhall here offer only a conjecture, which I ſubmit to the diſcernment of my reader.

THE Memoirs of Sully were formed firſt upon the obſervations which M. de Roſny be-

* Mem. Rec. Vol. I. p. 29. † Epît. des 1, & 3 Tom. Tom. II. p. 407, 409, 410, 434, 435, 440, 448. Tom. III. p. 82, 83, 294, 385, &c. Tom. II. p. 440.

gan,

gan, from his earliest youth, to make upon the events of his times, as well those that related to the public as those that affected his master and himself. To these were added, in the next place, the observations which he set down at the entreaty of his prince, who soon began to distinguish a man of his character. M. de Rosny had plainly no intention to write a connected narrative, much less a formal history, but only a collection of pieces upon several events of his time, which he improved with his own reflections on government *. The term Journal, which is sometimes used, is not to be taken in the strictest sense: accounts consisting of pieces thus independent, were not things absolutely new in his time. It is not unlikely that he considered himself as collecting materials for more regular memoirs, which he afterwards thought fit to communicate to the public, under the name of his secretaries, rather than his own.

THESE registers †, of which there has been already mention, were put into the hands of four of his secretaries, two of whom composed at first the two former volumes, such as they now appear, the two other secretaries, who were taken into the service of Sully at the time of his retreat, were busy, at the same time, upon the first of his two following volumes,

* Tom. II. p. 448. Tom. III. p. 83, 385.
† Épît. Limin du Tom. III. Tom. II. p. 410.

which

which comprises a space of five years, from 1605 to the death of Henry IV. and imagining their labour incomplete, unless they should produce two volumes as well as their fellows, they fell to tumbling over all their master's papers, and at last attained their purpose. But notice must be taken, that they are not to be believed too easily with respect to the place where these Memoirs are said to be printed; for they had an interest in imposing upon the public, by making it be believed that these Memoirs were not printed in France *. Guy-Patin, father Le-Long, the abbe Lenglet, and several others, are confident that the two first volumes were printed at the castle of Sully; and for the two last, it is a known fact that their first appearance was in an edition printed at Paris 1662, by the care of the abbe Le-Laboureur.

In the Memoirs of Mademoiselle mention is made of letters, and a great number of other original pieces, which the count de Bethune kept with great care, and shewed as a curiosity to those that came to see him. Of these, part, at least, may be thought the minutes of the duke of Sully. But, since none of these pieces are found in the vast collection of manuscripts presented by the count de Bethune, in 1664, to the late king, we may conclude that, after the publication of these Memoirs,

* Epît. Limin, ib.

thoſe minutes were deſtroyed as of no farther uſe: but, for my part, I make ſo little reckoning of the works of the compilers, that I could wiſh to have only the originals as they had them; for what they have given us of their own makes no eſſential addition, nor has any conſequence but that of concealing the true work of Sully, which, in many places, cannot be diſtinguiſhed or diſintangled from theirs; for they did not content themſelves with ranging their pieces according to the order of time, which was the beſt thing they were capable of doing.

I KNOW not whether there is not even room to ſuſpect them of having ſuppreſſed ſome pieces of conſiderable importance. One may ſafely charge them, at leaſt, with having deſtroyed The Treatiſe of War, The Marechal de Camp, The Inſtructions Military and Political, and ſome other works of the duke of Sully, which have certainly been once in exiſtence. They have been ſought to no purpoſe in the cloſet of the preſent duke of Sully *, notwithſtanding the pains which he, who is ſo well known for his love of literature and antiquities, has taken to recover monuments which contribute ſo much to the honour of his family. He has little more than ſome accounts and Memoirs relating to the different employments of Maximilian duke of Sully, of which the ſubſtance is found in this book.

* Louis-Pierre-Maximilian de Bethune.

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The only manuſcripts that raiſe much curioſity, are the original copy of the firſt volume of the Memoirs of Sully, from which the impreſſion was certainly taken; and the two laſt volumes of a kind of heroic romance, of which the two firſt have been loſt. Theſe adventures, or allegorical hiſtories of that age, are entituled, Gelaſtide, ou les Illuſtres princeſſes pucelles du puiſſant Empire de la grande Sclaramane Doloſophomorie, les Sclarazones diamantées, Percy de Rubicelle & Pyrope; titles as ſingular as thoſe of the Memoirs of Sully, and which ſhew that they are drawn up by the ſame hand.

It is poſſible that the loſs of theſe originals is imputed to Sully himſelf, ſince his ſecretaries acted not only under his orders, but under his own eyes *. In that caſe we ſhall be forced to confeſs, that a little vanity, from which this miniſter was not free, kept him from ſuffering his Memoirs to appear in his own name: he perceived that he could not forbear to give himſelf the honour of the brighteſt part of the reign of Henry IV. and, not caring either to praiſe himſelf or to loſe the praiſe he had deſerved, he determined to have that ſaid by others which he could not modeſtly ſay himſelf.

He is charged with another fault proceeding equally from vanity, but which, if we

* Tom. III. p. 83 and 294.

examine

examine it well, may appear very innocent; it is the freedom with which he acts and ſpeaks. Let us hear, on this head, our ancient diſſertator. "This ſtiff and haughty "humour, ſays he, which ſo often obliges "his prince to ſpeak firſt, and to open "himſelf to him, if it had been ſoftened "and made more eaſy, would have been "perhaps more perfect, and more deſerving "of imitation; but, if the original was as "it is repreſented, and nature had formed it "of this caſt, it ought not to be flattered or "diſguiſed: if this gravity and general cir-"cumſpection, which his enemies mention "as a reproach to his memory, was the very "quality which gave ſo much value to his "miniſtry and his credit, we ought not to "regret it in him as a blot, or condemn it as "a defect." And indeed, if a miniſter is of known honeſty, and unſuſpected of any bad deſign, why ſhould he, in ſpeaking to his maſter, or tranſacting with him, recede from the privilege of following the ſevere dictates of truth? Without this liberty the condition of private men would be much happier than that of princes; but we may ſufficiently prove, that Sully deſerves no reproach of this kind, by obſerving that he never received any from his maſter, who not only allowed, but loved and praiſed his freedom of ſpeech. Whatever may be ſaid, for inſtance, of the famous promiſe of marriage which Sully tore

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in pieces in the hands of Henry, I ſee nothing in that affair which does not deſerve admiration, and there is no fear that it ſhall be drawn into precedent.

THE neceſſity of being beforehand with the reader, for my own ſake, has given occaſion to theſe two remarks. I have conſidered it as indecent in Sully to relate all that happened of this kind with Henry IV. and as to perſonal commendations, I cut off what was uttered by ſecretaries, and could never have been ſaid by him, and keep all that he has ſaid, or ſuffered others to ſay to him, that was for his own honour, or for that of the family of Bethune. In like manner I let all ſtand which the ſame vanity, joined with his religious prejudices, diſpoſed him to advance with relation to the greateſt families; ſuch as the houſe of Auſtria, among others, or concerning private perſons, to whom he has not always done juſtice; ſuch as the dukes de Nevers and de Epernon, meſſieurs de Villeroi, Jeannin, and the cardinal de Oſſat, and others, amongſt the Roman catholics; and the dukes de Rohan, de Bouillon, and de La-Trémouille, Du-Pleſſis Mornay; and, to conclude, with reſpect to a ſociety deſerving eſteem, for purity of manners, and the ſervice it has done the public, by the education of youth, and the advancement of polite literature.

IF I ſtop at this head, it is only to ſhew how

how much I deteſt every ſpecies of prejudice; for otherwiſe I know well enough that I ſhall never be called to account about it: it was my duty to preſerve the ground-work of the original inviolate; and as the original, which I am far from ſuppoſing that my work will put out of the world, muſt always remain in its true ſtate, it would appear againſt me, if I ſhould dare to alter it, and furniſh an accuſation againſt me of diſhoneſty and flattery: all that I have been able to do, and I proteſt I have done it only out of regard to juſtice, is to ſhew my diſlike by frequent corrections, from which alone the public is to judge of my real ſentiments.

It appears indeed to me, that a ſingle word is ſufficient to put an end to the greateſt part of the imputation thrown upon the jeſuits and other good catholics by the duke of Sully: we muſt conſider that they acted upon one principle, and he judged of their actions upon another. It may be added, that in the circumſtances of thoſe things, during the tranſaction, it was difficult to paſs a right judgement upon the meaſures of the different parties: at preſent, ſince time has given new light to their cauſes, motives, and means, we, who are neither carried away by the heat of action, nor overpowered by fear, hope, or deſire, have, with reſpect to the ſubject on which we are treating, two opinions almoſt oppoſite; we deteſt the league, and have great

great reason to detest it; but, on the other hand, we judge, and not without probability, that, if the league had not been, France was in danger of suffering the greatest of all evils, the loss of the true religion. If Villeroi, D'Ossat, and others, stand in need of defence, it is on this principle, That they must be defended.

A MOTIVE of the same kind determined me likewise to write notes upon passages where Sully speaks unfavourably of the Spaniards, the English, and other kingdoms in our neighbourhood. I am as far from applauding his prejudices as espousing his quarrels. To see nothing in other nations worthy of praise, is to be blind; to see it, and not own it, is to be weak.

ANOTHER article, which appears to me of yet greater importance than all these, is, the liberty with which the author sometimes discovers his particular principles, with respect to the very substance of religion. It is natural to imagine, that a man full of knowledge, of reflection, and of good qualities, must have been very dangerous when he was led to speak of the reformed religion, which it is known that the duke of Sully always remained a firm adherent to. Such was my notion of the matter; but the first perusal of his Memoirs altered my opinion. I will quote, upon this occasion, for the last time, the writer whose testimony I have so often made use of,

of, to ſhew that theſe Memoirs cannot make, at this time, theſe impreſſions which they were unable to make when they were new. "It is not, ſays the author, upon account "of his religious opinions, that he is to be "conſidered as a model, or as an original; "we are too look into theſe Memoirs for a "general, a grand maſter of the ordnance, "a ſuper-intendant of the finances, and a mi-"niſter of an univerſal genius, concurring in "all the ſchemes of his prince; but you are "not here to expect a picture of a chriſtian, "and much leſs of a catholic.—Theſe books," ſays the ſame writer, in another place, "do "not ſhew him properly pious or religious, "becauſe they do not ſhew him a catholic."

The author might have added another reaſon of yet greater force, which is, that when Sully repreſents himſelf either as a reformed, or catholic, that man, whoſe reaſonings upon almoſt every other ſubject is ſolid and concluſive, appears ſo wretched as a divine, that the mere compariſon of his writings with themſelves is ſufficient to confute him; beſides, how many confeſſions are drawn from him by the force of truth? how much does he ſay againſt the mad determination of ſome proteſtant ſynods, againſt the intrigues and bad deſigns of the chief of that party; againſt the mutinous and ſeditious temper of the whole body? It is ſomething ſo ſingular, to ſee the duke of Sully by turns a Calviniſt,

and an enemy to Calvinists, that I thought it necessary to preserve whatever he has said on the subject of religion, lest what I had suppressed had been thought of more importance than it really is. But I thought it necessary to be likewise liberal of my notes, in opposition to those passages, and perhaps under the notion, that I could never be careful enough of weak minds, I may, without thinking of it, have shewn some regard to my first scruples.

The notes have been considerably multiplied by another consideration. As I was desirous to make this work more clear and compleat, I have shewn the same regard to things of mere entertainment as for those of necessity. I could not prevail upon myself to skip over a fact obscure or but slightly touched, without clearing it up and explaining it.

In one place, therefore, you will find a passage of pure amusement producing another of the same kind; in another place, a person of note is mentioned only by his name, and I have thought it necessary to add his christian or surname, his dignities or employments, and sometimes the year of his birth or his death. There are notes likewise, in which I have endeavoured to rectify false calculations and mistaken dates, and to adjust the valuation of coins; and on all these occasions, I have endeavoured to copy only from our best writers, and to draw immediately from the foun-

fountain-head; thus the Memoirs of the League, d'Etoile and de Nevers; les Chronologies Novennaire et Septennaire of Cayet, and the Mercure François; messieurs de Thou, Péréfixe, Matthieu, Davila, Le-Grain, D'Aubigné; the manuscripts of the king's library, the Letters of the cardinal D'Ossat *, &c. are my vouchers for facts: and for all the rest, my credit depends upon the books which have furnished the assistance that I happened to want. I have commonly contented myself with giving their words upon the subject before me, without entering into any disquisitions, except when contrariety of opinions seemed to require it. But notwithstanding this precaution, the margin of the five or six first books are somewhat crouded; nor was it in my power to do otherwise, the first years of Henry IV. affording a prodigious number of facts of every sort, which Sully has only hinted at, or mentioned very slightly.

To these might very properly have been added, notes upon politics, war, the finances, government, and naval affairs; and I could not, but in compliance with my inclination, scatter a few upon the last books particularly, of which the subject made them often useful, and sometimes absolutely necessary.

As to maxims and reflections, the only use that could properly have been made of them,

* For these letters I consulted the old folio edition, as also the old edition of L'Etoile's Memoirs.

was to ſcatter them here and there in the places where they have relation. With reſpect to another part of this work, I have taken a contrary method; I have brought together all that was ſaid in different places upon the great and famous deſign of Henry IV. which ſeems often to break the narration in an unpleaſant manner; and finding no place where a recital of ſo many particulars could be inſerted, I made a book of it by itſelf. I may be ſuſpected, upon theſe laſt heads, of having made great additions to my original; but let the reader ſuſpend his judgment till he has read it from beginning to end. I am well aware, that the neceſſity of arranging theſe materials in a different order, has given this work a kind of original air, which diſtinguiſhes it from common tranſlations, without giving the rank of a work of invention. There are many other places where it will be ſeen, that if I had thought myſelf entitled to an abſolute authority over my original, I ſhould often have given it another caſt. As to references, it was not poſſible to put them all in the margin, and they would have only tired the reader.

THE letters, which are ſcattered here and there, I could only have made uſeful, by caſting them into a narrative, and joining them with the facts to which they relate: by this means, I have contrived to diverſify my hiſtory, and have made the letters more uſeful than

they

they were before. It is common for those who write on things talked of by them before, to mention them imperfectly; these omissions I commonly supplied with a note, when the matter is such as can be discovered, or deserves explanation; for of this prodigious number of letters, either of the king's or Sully's, the greater part only contains particulars of small importance: all these I consider as useless, and retrench them either wholly or in part; and I take the same course with the recitals that are too long, with trifling remarks, with diffuse memorials and regulations of the finances, drawn out in particularities: but when I find letters, conversations, or other pieces, truly original, I copy them faithfully, except when I meet with a word that would offend the ear, I change it to another: this I intend for the gratification of those readers who would complain, if in these ancient Memoirs, the personages that are introduced should talk always like men of our own time, and judge of the pleasure they must receive from the singularity of the ancient language, by that which it gives to myself.

I HAVE followed the usual method, of dividing an historical work into books, rather than into chapters; there are here thirty books, reckoning the account of Henry's great project for one of them. Some were of opinion, that this project, having never been executed, might have been omitted;

but it ſeemed to me to make ſo conſiderable a part of Sully's Memoirs, that the public were likely to be offended with its ſuppreſſion.

I THOUGHT it not for my purpoſe to proceed farther than the retreat of Sully, in which I have ventured to differ from my original: but beſides, that, according to my ſcheme, I ſaw no uſe to be made of the pieces which had no relation either to Sully or Henry IV. I thought, judging of theſe pieces critically, that they did not deſerve much attention from mankind. I find nothing in the fourth volume which can truly be called the work of the duke of Sully, more than what he ſays of the new court, of the council, and of himſelf, to his departure from Paris; together with the regulations that he had formed for different purpoſes, and the evidence he gives of the great deſign of Henry IV. As to the furious invective againſt Villeroi, and the other pieces belonging to the reign of Lewis XIII. and, in a word, whatever is contained in the two hundred laſt pages of the fourth volume, the whole is apparently of another hand; ſo immethodical, ſo unconnected, and at the ſame time ſo trifling and ſo dull, that I could look upon it only as a thing compiled by one of his ſecretaries, without judgment, and for this only purpoſe, as themſelves confeſs, that the laſt volume might be as large as the former *; all this is to be

* Epît. Limin. du Tom. III.

ranked

ranked with the panegyrics, sonnets, and other pieces, both in French and Latin; which the reader, if such things happen to please him, may look for in the original.

As we cannot learn from these Memoirs what became of the duke of Sully from his retreat to his death, and as the reader may be curious about him, I have given him a Supplement. Nothing of the lives of great men should be lost or neglected; this Supplement is more full and interesting than I at first could promise myself, by means of the information with which the duke of Sully has been pleased to supply me.

I MAKE use, as I have already said, of the edition in folio; it is properly in four volumes, though in some libraries it is bound in two: the first and second of these volumes, printed at Amsterdam, that is to say, at Sully, without the date of the year or the printer, for that which appears at its head is counterfeit: this is commonly called the green-lettered edition, on account of its VVV, and its front-piece coloured with green. The third and fourth volumes, printed at Paris by permission, by Augustin Courbé, in 1662, this edition is incorrect, but some of the others are mutilated, which is worse. I shall here enumerate the subsequent editions; the two first volumes were reprinted at Rouen, 1649, in two volumes in folio; in a smaller letter, at Amsterdam, 1654, in four volumes

12°. At Paris, 1664, by Courbé, in two volumes in folio. The third and fourth volumes were reprinted at Paris, 1663, in eight volumes 12°; and at the same time at Rouen, in seven volumes 12°. The last edition is that of Trevoux, in 1725, in twelve volumes 12°.

WHAT I have here to add is to assure the public, that I respect it too much to expose myself to its censure, by any faults that labour and attention could enable me to avoid; and as for any others, as they may serve, if not to correct my work, at least to mend myself for the future, I am so far from endeavouring to obviate them, that I entreat the world not to spare them; they shall never find me claiming the indulgence naturally due to the first attempt, nor do I plead my situation in excuse; though my situation was so little propitious to this kind of labour, that I should have seen myself obliged to throw it up, had I not been assisted by persons whose generosity was equal to their zeal for the advancement of learning. This confession is due to truth. I should likewise be guilty of extreme ingratitude, if I omitted to make it known, that a man of character, who had been intimately acquainted with the two late dukes of Sully, not only gave me the first notion of this work, but assisted me likewise to form the plan, and promoted the execution by all the means which his friendship or generosity could dictate.

A SUM-

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SUMMARY

OF THE

Books contained in the First Volume.

SUMMARY of the FIRST BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1570 to 1580. State of affairs in the council of France, and those of the calvinists, at the peace of 1570. Rosny's extraction, and anecdotes of the house of Bethune. Some account of the birth, education, and early years, of the prince of Navarre. Idea of the government under Henry II. Francis II. and during the first years of the reign of Charles IX. Artifice of queen Catherine of Medicis to ruin the huguenots. Rosny engages himself in the service of the king of Navarre, and follows him to Paris. Death of the queen of Navarre. The wounding of admiral Coligny, and other causes of suspicion, which the court gave to the protestants. Profound dissimulation of Charles IX. Massacre of St. Bartholomew; a particular relation of this event. Observations and reflections upon it. The conduct of Charles IX. and admiral Coligny. In what manner the king of Navarre and Rosny escaped being massacred.

Edu-

Education of Rosny. The calvinists resume courage, and retrieve their affairs. Flight of the prince of Condé. Imprisonment of the princes. The insurrection of Shrove Tuesday. Death of Charles IX. His character. Henry III. returns to France, and declares war against the huguenots. Flight of Monsieur and the king of Navarre. The queen-mother deceives them by the peace called the Peace of Monsieur. The war is renewed. Military rencounters, and taking of cities. Rosny's first exploits in arms. The peace of 1577. Conferences between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. More military expeditions. Taking of Cahors, &c. Faults committed by Rosny.

SUMMARY of the SECOND BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1580 to the year 1587. Affairs of Flanders. The United Provinces offer their crown to Monsieur: he goes to Holland; Rosny attends him. The taking of Château-Cambresis, &c. Monsieur surprises the citadel of Cambrai: he goes to England; returns to France; is hated by the Dutch and the protestants on account of the treachery attempted by him at Antwerp; disconcerted by the prince of Orange. Rosny dissatisfied with Monsieur, who, finding all his schemes blasted, returns to France. Rosny returns likewise, after having visited the city of Bethune. Spain makes offers to the king of Navarre. Rosny sent to the court of France by the king of Navarre: he visits Monsieur. Death of that prince. Rosny's second journey to Paris, and negotiation there: his marriage. Domestic employments. Origin, formation, and progress, of the League. Henry III. joins the League against the king of Navarre. Divisions in the calvinist party; the views of its chiefs. Rosny is again sent to Paris by the king of Navarre,

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to obſerve the motions of the League. An attempt upon Angers; fails. A dangerous journey taken by Roſny. The prince of Condé in extream peril. The king of Navarre in great perplexities. Military expeditions. Roſny negotiates an alliance between the two kings. The taking of Talmont, Fontenay, &c. Roſny goes to viſit and aſſiſt his wife during the calamity of the plague. Fruitleſs interviews between the queen-mother and the king of Navarre. A ſeries of military expeditions. Roſny defeats one of the enemies ſquadrons. Other ſucceſſes of the calviniſts; a declared perſecution againſt them. Madame de Roſny in great danger. Roſny's ſecret journey to Paris. The duke of Joyeuſe leads an army into Poitou, and is beat by the king of Navarre at Coutras; a particular account of this battle.

SUMMARY of the THIRD BOOK.

MEMOIRS from the year 1587 to the year 1590. Errors committed by the king of Navarre and the proteſtants, after the battle of Coutras. Secret deſigns of the prince of Condé, the count of Soiſſons, and the viſcount Turenne. Death of the prince of Condé; obſervations upon his death. The battle of the Barricades, and the conſequences; reflections upon this event. The duke and cardinal of Guiſe aſſaſſinated; reflections and obſervations on this occaſion. Death of Catherine de Medicis. The puſillanimity of Henry III. with reſpect to the League. Roſny negotiates a treaty of alliance between the two kings; the diſguſt he receives upon this occaſion. Interview of the two kings. The duke of Maïenne ſits down before Tours; military exploits on both ſides. Battle of Foſſeuſe, at which Roſny is preſent. Death of madame de Roſny. Military ſucceſſes of the two kings. Siege of Paris. Death of Henry III. particulars of this aſſaſſination. Henry IV.

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asks counsel of Rosny; the perplexing situation of this prince. The dispositions of the several officers in the royalist army with respect to him. Rosny surprises Meulan. Military expeditions. A particular account of the battle of Arques, at which Rosny was present. Skirmishes at Pollet. Henry IV. often in danger. An attempt upon Paris. Rencounters and sieges of different places. Digressions upon those Memoirs. Siege of Meulan. A Spanish army in France. Rosny defends Passi. The battle of Ivry; particulars of this battle. Rosny often in great danger; is wounded in several places; he is carried by his own orders to Rosny. Henry IV's affectionate behaviour to him there.

SUMMARY of the FOURTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1590 to 1592. A mutiny in Henry's army after the battle of Ivry; dissipation of the finances, and other causes of the little advantages he derived from it. Cities taken. Attempts on others; disappointed. The taking of the suburbs of Paris; the siege of this city; particulars relating to this siege; the causes which obliged Henry to raise it. The prince of Parma leads an army thither; his encampment, and other military details. An error committed by Henry: he obliges the Prince of Parma to retire. The siege of Chartres. An adventure wherein Rosny is in danger of being killed: he retires to Rosny in discontent. Success of Henry IV's arms. The taking of Corbie, Noyon, &c. An enterprise upon Mante. The duke of Montpensier's expeditions in Normandy. Preparations for the siege of Rouen; errrors committed at this siege. Mutual animosities between the soldiers and officers of Henry's army. Attacks, assaults, and other particulars of this siege. The prince of Parma

ma comes again with an army into France. The insolence of the council of sixteen. Henry advances to meet the prince of Parma. An enterprise boldly seconded by the duke of Nevers. The battle of Aumale; particulars of this battle, and observations upon it. Henry raises the siege of Rouen: marches, encampments, rencounters, and battles, betwixt him and the prince of Parma, in the neighbourhood of Rouen. Observations upon these battles. A glorious exploit of the prince of Parma at the passage of the Seine. Henry's army refuses to pursue him; the causes of this refusal; and reflections upon it.

SUMMARY of the FIFTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS from 1592---1593. A succinct account of the state of affairs in the provinces of France during the years 1591 and 1592. Intrigues carried on by the count of Soissons: his character. An abridgment of the duke of Epernon's history: his disobedience; his character. Several parties formed in the southern provinces of France: a short account of what passed there. The siege of Villemur. The siege of Epernai, where marshal Biron is slain: his eulogium. Death of the prince of Parma. Rosny marries again, and retires in discontent. The cause of it. He intercepts the memoirs of the negotiations between Spain and the League. A detail and examen of those papers. A third party formed in France: the persons who compose it; and their views. Henry follows Rosny's advice. The wise and cautious conduct observed by them both. Conversations betwixt them, wherein Rosny prevails upon him to change his religion. Henry sounds the protestants upon this resolution. Rosny's conference with Bellozanne, the two Durets, and Du-Perron. Conditions offered by the League to Henry; with what designs; rejected. The meeting of the states

of Paris. A project of the prince of Parma's badly executed. Disunion of the catholic chiefs in these states: their intrigues and artifices to supplant each other. The parliament of Paris publishes an arret. The zeal of its members for the honour of the crown. The truce. The great wisdom and ability of Henry in profiting of the dissensions among the chiefs of the League. Conduct of Villeroi and Jeannin. Rosny gives the king very prudent advice. The siege of Dreux; taken by Rosny's means. Henry removes all obstacles to his conversion. Particulars relating to his abjuration.

MEMOIRS

in the preface

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MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS

OF

SULLY.

BOOK I.

THEY flattered themſelves at the court of Charles IX. that the miſeries which befel the proteſtants under the preceding reigns, would at laſt oblige them either to ſubmit to the king's will, or to leave the kingdom. The death of the prince of Condé *, their leader, the loſs of two great battles †, the utter diſperſion of their ſoldiers, and the little probability of their being able to re-animate the feeble remainder of their troops, diſcouraged by a long train of misfortunes, all contributed to perſuade them, that the moment of their ruin approached ‡. A courage ſuperior to all events, ſupported them in circumſtances ſo diſtreſsful: they

* Lewis the firſt, prince of Condé, brother of Antony king of Navarre, and ſon of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome. He was taken priſoner at the battle of Jarnac, in the year 1569, and murdered by a piſtol-ſhot in the back part of his head, by the baron de Monteſquiou. This gentleman being captain of the guards to the duke of Anjou, that prince was accuſed of having commanded him to aſſaſſinate the prince of Condé.

† Jarnac and Moncontour.

‡ The reader muſt not forget, that it is a proteſtant who ſpeaks in theſe memoirs: the condition in which religion and politics are at preſent in France, leaves no room to apprehend any bad conſequences to either from what Monſieur de Sully can ſay in favour of the pretended reformed religion. One may even, from the author's own words in ſeveral places, draw very ſtrong arguments for the unity of religion in a kingdom, and the advantage the catholic religion has over the proteſtant. See what is ſaid on this ſubject in the preface to this work.

recalled their soldiers, who were scattered throughout the provinces; and who now began to draw together from Burgundy, Bourbon, and Berry. La Charité was named for the place of their general rendezvous; Vezelai, and some other towns, still holding out for them in that neighbourhood. They had even the boldness to promise themselves, they should spread the alarm as far as Paris, as soon as they were reinforced by some considerable supplies of horse and foot, that they expected from Germany.

THIS news gave great uneasiness to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis; but she flattered herself, that it would not be difficult to hinder their junction, and afterwards to disperse the troops, which she supposed would be by that means thrown into a consternation. For this purpose she ordered a powerful army to march. Strozzy †, La Chatre, Tavannes, La Valette, and all the general officers in France, were desirous of serving in it; and the marechal de Cossé ‡, who was to have the supreme command, suffered himself to be intoxicated with the glory he should acquire, by extirpating even the last huguenot soldier, and bringing the chiefs of the party bound hand and foot to the queen-mother: but he was soon undeceived: the protestant army received

† Philip Strozzy, lord of Epernay, son of Peter Strozzy, marechal of France. Claude de la Chatre, afterwards marechal of France. John de Nogaret, father of the duke d'Epernon. Gaspard de Saulx de Tavannes, who was also marechal of France; he had been page to Francis I. and was at that time one of the counsellors and confidents of Catherine de Medicis. His character may be known by the following traits, which I shall copy from the author of the Henriade in his notes, p. 34. "In the night of St. Bartholomew," says he, "he ran through the streets of Paris, crying, Let blood, let blood; "bleeding is as good in the month of August as in May. His son, "who has written his memoirs, relates, that his father being upon "his death-bed, made a general confession of the sins of his life; "after which his confessor saying to him, with an air of astonishment, Why! you speak not a word of St. Bartholomew. I look "upon that, replied the marechal, as a meritorious action, which "ought to atone for all the sins I have ever committed."

‡ Artus de Cossé, lord of Gonnor, who died in 1582.

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him with great intrepidity; they were always the first to offer battle; in the skirmishes, which were frequent, the advantage was wholly on their side; and they even carried away a kind of victory at the encounter of Arnai-le-duc *. So much obstinacy convinced the queen-mother, that to ruin the protestant party it would be necessary to have recourse to other measures than war. Treachery seemed to her the securest; and, in order to gain time to prepare for it, she listened so favourably to proposals for an accommodation, that a peace was concluded when it was least expected, and upon conditions very advantageous for the huguenots. This was the peace † of 1570. After which, during the space of two years, each party tasted the sweets of a repose, that had been equally desired by both.

* It was expected from appearances, that the marechal de Cossé would beat the huguenot army, or at least prevent it from approaching Paris: neither the one nor the other he performed; on the contrary, he was obliged to retreat, after a very smart encounter, and from thenceforward contented himself with watching the motions of the enemy. In this engagement the calvinists were commanded by the prince of Navarre and the prince of Condé his cousin-german, the one sixteen, the other seventeen years of age, and by the admiral de Coligny. Peter Matthieu, the historian, relates these words of Henry IV. after he had ascended the throne: speaking of this encounter of Arnai-le-duc, "My first exploits in arms, said this prince, were at "Arnai-le-duc, where the question was, whether I should fight or "retire. I had no retreat nearer than forty miles from thence, and "if I staid, I must certainly lie at the mercy of the country people. "By fighting, I ran the risk of being taken or slain, for I had no "cannon, and the king's forces had: and a gentleman was killed "not ten paces distant from me with a cannon shot: but recom-"mending the success of this day to God, it pleased him to make it "favourable and happy." Vol. I. book v. p. 327. In this same year the huguenots gained the battle of Luçon, and took Marennes, the isle of Oleron, Brouage, Xaintes, &c.

† By this treaty of peace, many privileges, of which they had been deprived, were restored to them, the number of their churches were augmented, and four cities were given them for security, La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité. This peace was signed the 11th of August, and was called the lame and ill-founded peace, because it was concluded in the name of the king by Biron, who was lame, and by N. de Mesmes, lord of Malassize, which in French signifies ill founded.

My father ‡ retired to his house at Rosny, and employed himself in settling his domestic affairs. As it is the history of my own life, jointly with that of the prince whom I served, that will make the subject of these memoirs, 'tis necessary that I should give some account of my family and person. By satisfying the curiosity of the public in these particulars, I must intreat, that neither vanity nor affectation be imputed to me, since a strict regard to truth is my only inducement for relating whatever may appear advantageous for me, either here, or in the succeeding parts of these Memoirs.

Maximilian is my baptismal name, and Bethune that of my family §, which derives its origin, by the house of Coucy, from the ancient house of Austria: we must not, however, confound it with that which is at present in possession of the empire of Germany, and the two Spains. This last is descended only from the counts of Habsbourg and Quibourg ‖, private gentlemen, who three hundred years since were

‡ Francis de Bethune, Baron de Rosny, who died in the year 1575. His first wife was Charlotte Dauvet, daughter of Robert Dauvet, lord de Rieux, president of the chamber of accounts, and of Anne Briçonnet; by whom he had children, whose names will be mentioned hereafter. His second wife was Margaret de Louvigny, who brought him no issue.

§ These particulars relating to the house of Bethune, are drawn from the body of the ancient memoirs of Sully, and the pieces joined to them; but it will be safest to rely on the best modern genealogists, whose opinions we shall mention hereafter.

‖ It was long believed, that the house of Austria was descended from the counts of Habsbourgh, or Thierstein. The writings of the abbey de Mure, or Muri, in Switzerland, carelessly consulted by Theodore Godefroy, and upon his word adopted by the best criticks, and even by father Le Long, have given rise to this error; but by these writings better examined, by the charters of the monastery of St. Trutpert, and other acts, it appears, that this house is originally from Brisgaw, that it is descended from the ancient counts of Alsace, and goes back, by Luitfrid, Rampert, Otpert, &c. counts of Habsbourgh and landgraves of Alsace, not only to Gontran the rich, count of Altembourgh, who lived in the beginning of the tenth century, but even to Adelric or Ethic the first, called duke of Germany, eighteenth ancestor of Raoul or Rodolph the first, to the middle of the seventh century. This seems to be sufficiently well established by the

in the pay of the cities of Strasbourg, Basil, and Zurich, and who would have thought themselves highly honoured by being stewards of the houshold to such a prince as the king of France; since Raoul, chief of this second house of Austria, held a like employment under Ottocar king of Bohemia. It is from the son of this Raoul, that the new stock of Austria properly begins, for he took the name of Austria instead of his own.

THE house of Bethune (which has given its name to a city of Flanders, and from whence issued the counts that anciently governed that province) boasts of one Robert de Bethune *, protector of the church

the new work in Latin of father Marquard Hergott, a benedictin, printed at Vienna 1737, in three volumes, folio, entitled, The diplomatic genealogy of the august house of Habsbourgh, &c. See also the learned and judicious extract of this work, inserted in the Journal des Sçavans, March, April, and June, 1740. Besides this general error, our Memoirs seem to have fallen into two other particular ones. It is certain, we ought not to confound this second house of Austria with that which had the possession of Austria, &c. till the year 1248, that Frederick the last of it died, and which drew its origin from the ancient dukes of Suabia; but we want proofs of the house of Bethune's being allied to that of Suabia, or the first house of Austria, though it was to the second, by the house of Coucy. The duke of Sully probably gave credit to the ancient fable, that derives the house of Austria from Sigebert, son of Theodebert, king of Austrasia, and has applied it not to the second house of Austria, but to the first, although the one is no more true than the other. He has reason for saying afterwards, that Raoul or Rodolph, count of Habsbourgh, and the first of this house that was emperor, had been steward of the houshold to Ottocar, king of Bohemia; and that Albert his son, elected emperor likewise, was the first of his house who took the title of duke of Austria, which happened in 1274, when Rodolph gained the dutchies of Austria, Stiria, Carniola, &c. from Ottocar his rival; but he ought at the same time to have done more justice than he has to the antiquity of this house.

* Du Chesne seems to be much of the same opinion. He proves, that Robert, called Faisseus, the head of the house of Bethune, who lived in the tenth century, descended from a younger branch of the ancient counts of Flanders, and had for his portion the lordship of the city of Bethune, first barony of the earldom of Artois. If this opinion be well grounded, 'tis certain, that it was the city of Bethune from which this branch took its name, and which was from that time borne by all the house of Bethune. The title of patron of the church was then so noble, that many sovereigns thought it an honour to be distinguished by it.

of Arras, whose father and grandfather, bearing also the name of Robert, were declared protectors of the province of Artois. One of these two Roberts de Bethune signalized himself in France, by the taking of La-Roche-vandais, a fortress upon the confines of Auvergne, where the rebel Emerigot Marcel had retired; and the other in the wars of Sicily, by killing with his own hand the tyrant Mainfroy, in the presence of two armies; a service which Charles of Anjou, the rival of Mainfroy, did not reward too highly, by giving him his daughter Catherine to wife. They mention a fourth, Robert de Bethune, who gained a naval battle over the infidels in the Mediterranean. In the church, a James de Bethune, bishop of Cambray, at the time of the Croisade of the Albigeois; and a John de Bethune, abbot of Anchin near Valenciennes, who died in the year 1250, with the reputation of great sanctity, and whose bones are revered as those of a martyr. The history of the Croisades has not forgot those who distinguished themselves at the taking of Jerusalem, by being the first that mounted the breach. Antony and Coësne de Bethune †, emulating the glory of their ancestors, were also the first that fixed the standard upon the walls of Constantinople, when Baldwin, count of Flanders, won this capital from Alexis Comnenus; and Coësne obtained the government of it.

WHOEVER has such domestic examples as these, cannot recall them too often to his memory to animate himself to follow them. Happy, if, during the course of my life, my conduct may be such, that so many illustrious men disdain not to acknowledge

† These are apparently the two brothers, sons of Robert the fifth, lord of Bethune, whom (according to William of Tyr) Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, proposed to marry to the two daughters of Baldwin, king of Jerusalem. It is also certain, that after the death of Peter de Courtenay, emperor of Constantinople, this Coësne or Conon de Bethune was declared regent of the empire, during the minority of Philip de Courtenay his son.

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me, nor I have occasion to blush that I am descended from them.

At length the house of Bethune, growing every day more illustrious, became allied ‡ to almost all the sovereign houses in Europe; it entered into that of Austria §, and to conclude with what honoured it infinitely more, the august house of Bourbon ‖ did not contemn its alliance.

But I must confess, that the branch from which I am descended, had then lost much of its first splendor. It was the issue of a younger brother *, and the poorest of all who have borne this name. The eldest branch having three times fallen into the female line, all the great estates it possessed in different parts of Europe did not go to the collateral branches, but went with the daughters to the royal houses they married into.

‡ See in Du Chesne and father Anselm, all the alliances of the house of Bethune with different princes of France; with the emperors of Constantinople, the counts of Flanders, Hainault, Boulogne, the kings of Jerusalem, the dukes of Lorrain, the kings of Castile, Leon, Scotland, and England, the families of Courtenay, Chatillon, Montmorency, Melun, Horn, &c.

§ By Jean de Coucy, who married John de Bethune. It must be observed, that as often as the house of Coucy is mentioned here, it is not in reality the house of Coucy but that of Guines that is meant. The eldest branch of this ancient house of Coucy was extinct in the person of Enguerrand the fourth of Coucy. Enguerrand de Guines, who married Alice de Coucy, the daughter of a younger branch, revived it, by taking the name and the arms. The house of Guines was not less ancient and illustrious than that of Coucy.

‖ By the houses of Chatillon, Neelle, Montmorency, Luxembourgh, and lastly by the house of Melun.

Anne de Melun, lady of Rosny, who married John IV. de Bethune, reckoned in her family, says Du Chesne, as well on the side of her father, Hugo de Melun, viscount de Gand, as on that of Jean de Horn her mother, more than ten princes of the blood-royal of France, and all the sovereigns of Europe.

* John de Bethune, ancestor in the seventh degree of the duke of Sully, had two sons, Robert and John. Robert, by three marriages, left only daughters. John is the younger brother, of whom the author here speaks; he was lord of Locres and Autreche. Matthew de Bethune, another ancestor of the author's, had likewise three daughters, and no son.

My particular ancestors, by marrying advantageously, restored to their branch what it wanted to maintain the dignity of its name; but all these riches were almost entirely dissipated by the prodigality and bad management of my grandfather †, who left nothing to his son my father, but the estate of Anne de Melun his wife, which it was not in his power to deprive him of.

As for what relates to me personally: at the time of which I have been speaking, I entered into my eleventh year, being born the 13th of December, 1560. Although I was but the second ‡ of four sons, yet the natural imperfections of my eldest brother § made my father look upon me as the future head of his family; all the indications of a strong and vigorous constitution recommending me still more to his favour. My parents bred me in the opinions and doctrine of the reformed religion, and I have continued constant in the profession of it; neither threatenings, promises, variety of events, nor the change even of the king my protector, joined to his most tender solicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce it.

Henry ‖ king of Navarre, who will have the principal share in these memoirs, was seven years

† John de Bethune, baron de Baye: he married Anne de Melun, daughter of Hugo de Melun, viscount de Gand, and of Jean d'Horn; she was heiress of Rosny. After her death, he married Jean Du-Pré, a private gentlewoman. He sold the lordships of Hautbois, d'Avraincourt, Novion, Caumartin, Baye, Bannay, Taluz, Loches, Villerenard, Châtillon, Broucy, &c. Du Chesne, ibid.

‡ Francis de Bethune, baron de Rosny, &c. had six sons, but the author does not reckon John and Charles, who died young. The four others are, Lewis, Maximilian, Solomon, and Philip de Bethune. He mentions each of them in another place.

§ Lewis drowned himself at twenty years of age.

‖ "The house of Bourbon, from Lewis IX. to Henry IV. had "been almost always neglected; and to such extreme poverty was it "reduced, that the famous prince of Condé, brother to Antony king "of Navarre, and uncle to Henry the great, had no more than six "hundred livres a year for his patrimony." *Essay on the civil wars.*

These words of the author of the Henriade might easily lead one into an error, if at the same time we were not warned of it by an historian

older than me, and when the peace of 1570 was concluded, entered into his eighteenth year *. A countenance noble, open, and insinuating, free, easy, and lively manners, with an uncommon dexterity in performing all the exercises suitable to his age, drew the esteem and admiration of all that knew him. He began early to ‡ discover those great talents for

historian better informed, who tells us, that the house of Bourbon was then in possession of a revenue of more than eight hundred thousand livres a year in lands only, which was at that time thought a very considerable fortune. 'Tis certain, that this was all it possessed of the ancient estate of Bourbon, or even of the house of Moncade, the maternal stock; the estates of these two houses, which came by very rich and illustrious alliances, being alienated to purchase the viscounty of Narbonne. Peter Matthieu's history of Henry IV. vol. II. p. 1 and 2. For these alliances, and the genealogy of the house of Bourbon, consult also the New chronology of Peter Victor Cayet, vol. I. book i. p. 237. and our other historians.

* He was born at Pau in Bearn, December 13th, 1553. Mr. de Perefixe relates some very curious particulars concerning his birth. "Henry d'Albert, his grandfather, made his daughter promise to "sing a song to him while she was in labour; in order, said he, that "you may bring me a child, who will neither weep nor make wry "faces. The princess had fortitude enough, in the midst of her "pains, to keep her word, and sang a song in Bearnois, her own "country language. As soon as Henry entered the chamber, the "child came into the world without crying; his grandfather imme-"diately carried him to his own apartment, and there rubbed his "little lips with a clove of garlic, and made him suck some wine "out of a gold cup, to make his constitution strong and vigorous." Perefixe's history of Henry the great, p. 1. Cayet, vol. I. book i. p. 241.

‡ "This young prince, when he was only thirteen years of age, "had judgment enough to observe faults in the conduct of the prince "of Condé, and the admiral Coligny. It was his opinion, and a "very judicious one, that at the great skirmish at Loudun, if the "duke of Anjou had had troops in readiness to attack them, he "would have done it: that he did not do it, but chose to retire, "was a proof of his being in a weak condition, and therefore they "ought to have attacked him; this they neglected, and by that means "gave time for all his troops to join him. At the battle of Jarnac, "he represented to them with equal strength of judgment, that "they had not a favourable opportunity for fighting, because the "forces of the princes were dispersed, and those of the duke of Anjou "all joined: but they were too far engaged to retire. At the battle "of Moncontour, when he was but sixteen years of age, he cried "out, We lose our advantage, and consequently the battle." Perefixe, ibid.

war, which have so highly distinguished him among other princes. Vigorous and indefatigable by the education of his infancy*, he breathed nothing but labour, and seemed to wait with impatience for oc-

* "He was brought up in the castle of Coarasse in Bearn, situated "amidst rocks and mountains. Henry d'Albert, his grandfather, "would have him cloathed and fed like other children in that coun-"try. They even accustomed him to run up and down the rocks. "It is said, that his ordinary food was brown bread, beef, cheese, "and garlick; and that they often made him walk barefoot and "bareheaded." Perefixe, ibid.

While he was in the cradle, he was called prince of Viane. A little time after, they gave him the title of duke of Beaumont, and after that prince of Navarre. The queen of Navarre his mother took great care of his education, and appointed La Gaucherie, a very learned man, but a strict Calvinist, for his preceptor.

"While he was yet a child, he was presented to Henry II. who "asked him if he would be his son: He is my father, replied the "little prince in Bearnois, pointing to the king of Navarre. Well, "said the king, will you be my son-in-law then? Oh, with all my "heart, answered the prince. From that time, his marriage with "the princess Margaret was resolved upon. At Bayonne the duke "of Medina, looking at him earnestly, said, This prince either will, "or ought to be an emperor." Cayet, vol. I. b. i. p. 240.

In the Memoirs of Nevers we meet with some letters written in 1567, by the principal magistrates of Bourdeaux, that contain several very interesting particulars concerning the person and manners of young Henry. "We have here, says one, the prince of Bearn; it "must be confess'd, that he is a charming youth. At thirteen years "of age, he has all the riper qualities of eighteen or nineteen: he "is agreeable, polite, obliging, and behaves to every one with an "air so easy and engaging, that wherever he is, there is always a croud. "He mixes in conversation like a wise and prudent man, speaks al-"ways to the purpose, and when it happens that the court is the "subject of discourse, 'tis easy to see that he is perfectly well ac-"quainted with it, and never says more nor less than he ought, in "whatever place he is. I shall all my life hate the new religion for "having robb'd us of so worthy a subject." And in another, "His "hair is a little red, yet the ladies think him not less agreeable on "that account: his face is finely shap'd, his nose neither too large "nor too small, his eyes full of sweetness, his skin brown but clear, "and his whole countenance animated with an uncommon vivacity: "with all these graces, if he is not well with the ladies, he is ex-"tremely unfortunate." Again, "He loves diversions and the "pleasures of the table. When he wants money, he has the address "to procure it in a manner quite new, and very agreeable to others "as well as himself; to those, whether men or women, whom he "thinks his friends, he sends a promissory note, written and signed "by himself, and intreats them to send him back the note, or the "sum mentioned in it. Judge, if there is a family that can refuse "him:

casions of acquiring glory. The crown of France not being yet the object of his aspiring wishes, he indulged himself in forming schemes for the recovering that of Navarre, which Spain had unjustly usurped from his family; and this he thought he might be enabled to perform, by maintaining a secret intelligence with the Moors in Spain †. The enmity he bore to this power, was open and declared; it was born with him, and he never condescended to conceal it. He felt his courage enflamed at the relation of the ‡ battle of Lepanto, which was fought at that time; and a like opportunity of distinguishing himself against the infidels became one of his most ardent wishes. The vast and flattering expectations which the astrologers agreed in making him conceive, were almost always present to his mind. He saw the foundation of them in that affection which Charles IX. early entertained for him, and which considerably increased a short time before his death; but animated as he was with these happy presages, he laboured to second them only in secret, and never disclosed his thoughts to any person but a small number of his most intimate confidents.

In order to form a just idea, either of the general state of affairs in the government of France, or of those of the young prince of Navarre, and what he might have to hope or fear in the times of which we are speaking, 'tis necessary to give a summary relation of the different steps taken by the ministry, both before and after the death of the § king of Na-

"him: every one looks upon it as an honour to have a note from "this prince," &c. Vol. II. p. 586.

† My ewe, said Henry d'Albert, has brought forth a lion. And added from a secret presage, This child will revenge me on Spain for the injuries I have received from her. Peref. ibid.

‡ Gained this year against the Turks by Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles the fifth. He was generalissimo of the Spanish and Venetian troops.

§ Antony de Bourbon, husband of Jane d'Albert queen of Navarre. He turned catholick. M. de Thou relates an anecdote of him, which we cannot do better than give in the words of the author of the

varre his father, slain before Rouen. I shall go back, therefore, to the rupture that kindled the war between Henry II. and Philip II. of Spain. To which side soever it owed its rise, the event was not so favourable to France, as convenient for the views of the two men who advised it. These were the constable † de Montmorency, and the duke ‡ de Guise, who hoped these troubles would furnish them with the means of reciprocally supplanting each other. In this war there was sufficient employment for both. The duke of Guise, at the head of a powerful army, passed into Italy, where he performed nothing worthy his reputation. But the constable was still more unsuccessful: the most distinguishing post, which was the command of the army in Flanders, he reserved for himself, and lost St. Quentin, with the battle of that name, where he was taken prisoner. This defeat was followed by that of the marechal Thermes at Gravelins ‖.

Henriade. "Francis de Guise did design to assassinate him in "the chamber of king Francis II. Antony de Navarre had a great "deal of courage, though his judgment was weak; he was informed "of the plot, yet went resolutely into the chamber where it was to "be executed. If they murder me, said he to Reinsy, one of his gen-"tlemen, take my bloody shirt, and carry it to my wife and son: "that will teach them what they ought to do to revenge me. Fran-"cis the second durst not stain himself with this crime; and the "duke of Guise at leaving his chamber, exclaimed, What a poor "king have we!"

† Anne, constable of Montmorency. He received a wound at the battle of St. Denis, October 10, 1567, of which he died.

‡ Claude de Lorrain, a stem of the house of Guise in France, had six sons, Francis, duke of Guise; Charles, archbishop of Rheims, called cardinal of Lorrain; Claude, duke of Aumale; Lewis, cardinal of Guise; Francis, grand prior; and René, marquis d'Elbœuf. Francis the eldest, is he whom the author here mentions. He married Anne d'Est, and was murdered in 1563, with three poisoned balls, by the hand of John Poltrot de Meri, a gentleman of Angoumois. Poltrot impeached the admiral, the count de la Rochefoucault, and Theodore de Beze, as accomplices in his crime; but afterwards varying in his accusations, the admiral was declared innocent. His titles were, duke of Guise and Aumale, prince of Joinville, knight of the order of the king, peer, grand master, grand chamberlain, and grand huntsman of France.

‖ Paul de la Berts, lord of Thermes, marechal of France.

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THE duke of Guise saw all his wishes compleated by these unfortunate events. He was recalled from Italy, to be placed singly at the head of the council and armies, with which he acquired Calais to France. The constable in his prison felt all the force of this blow; and being resolved to go and defend his rights at any price, he treated of a peace with Spain. It was not indeed an honourable one for the king his master, but it released him from captivity. The death of king Henry II. entirely sunk his credit §. This prince was slain in the midst of the magnificent rejoicings on account of his daughter's marriage with the king of Spain, which was the seal of the peace. Francis II. who succeeded him, was young, weak and infirm: he had married the niece * of the duke of Guise, and that nobleman became in his turn the sole governor of the king and kingdom. The protestants could not have fallen into the hands of a more cruel enemy. He was busied in forming vast projects, and meditating the strangest catastrophes in France, when he himself experienced the vicissitudes of fortune. A sudden death, occasioned by a pain in his ear †, deprived him of Francis II. The reign of Charles IX. his brother, yet an infant, was singular in this, that the authority seemed to be equally divided amongst the queen-mother, the princes of the blood, the constable, and the duke of Guise. Each of them in secret supported a party of his own. The good destiny of the duke of Guise placed him a second time at the head of affairs, by the union that Catherine made with him. Upon this union she even founded the principal part of her politics; and 'tis pretended,

§ Struck in the eye with a splinter of a lance in a tournament, where he ran against the count de Montgomery, July 10, 1559.

* Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, daughter of James V. king of Scotland, and of Mary of Lorrain, of the house of Guise.

† The abscess that he had in this part turning to a mortification, he died the 5th of December, 1560. No more was needful to raise a suspicion of his being poisoned;

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the hatred ſhe began to ſhew towards the princes of Bourbon, had a great ſhare in it: this averſion aroſe from her having taken it into her head, upon the faith of an aſtrologer, that none of the princes her ſons ſhould have iſſue, in which caſe the crown muſt paſs to a branch of the houſe of Bourbon. She could not reſolve to ſee it go out of her family, and therefore deſtined it to the poſterity of her ‡ daughter, who was married to the duke of Lorrain. Whatever there may be in this predilection of the queen-mother ‖, it is certain, ſhe gave birth to two parties in politics as well as religion, which began from that moment to fill the kingdom with confuſion, horror, and the moſt dreadful calamities.

THIS dreadful tempeſt ſeemed ſolely formed to burſt upon the head of the young prince of Navarre. The § king of Navarre, his father, was juſt then dead: his death, indeed, left a prince and a king to be head of the reformed religion in France: but this prince was a child of ſeven years of age, and the mark at which all the blows of the new council were aimed, who acted in concert with the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, and all the catholics of Europe. In effect, this party experienced the moſt cruel reverſes of fortune; yet, by the wiſe conduct of its chiefs, and the early talents of young

‡ Claude of France, the ſecond of three daughters, which Catherine de Medicis had by her marriage with Henry II. She married the duke of Lorrain, and had children by him.

‖ M. L'Abbé le Laboureur, in his additions to the Memoirs of Caſtelnau, aſſigns another reaſon for queen Catherine's hatred to the king of Navarre: he declares he read in theſe memoirs, that this prince and the duke d'Alençon being priſoners together, they plotted to ſtrangle the queen-mother with their own hands, when ſhe came into their chamber. This deſign was not executed through the horror they themſelves felt at the fact; and the king of Navarre afterwards but ill concealing the ſecret, Catherine de Medicis was to the laſt degree enraged againſt him.

§ The author is miſtaken in placing the death of Antony king of Navarre in 1560; it did not happen till 1562, by a wound he received at the ſiege of Rouen. See his character and eulogium in the Memoirs of Brantome, vol. III. p. 242.

Henry,

Henry, it supported itself with glory till the peace of 1570, at which period these Memoirs commence.

PRINCE Henry made use of the quiet that was given him, to visit his estates, and his government of Guyenne; after which he came and settled in Rochelle, with the queen of Navarre his mother, the admiral de Coligny *, and the principal chiefs of the protestant party, to whom this important city, far distant from the court, seemed most advantageous for the interest of their religion. A very wise resolution, had they been capable of adhering to it constantly.

QUEEN Catherine dissembled the trouble this conduct gave her, and during the whole year 1571, spoke only of faithfully observing the treaties, of entering into a closer correspondence with the protestants, and carefully preventing all occasions of rekindling the war. This was the pretence of the marechal de Cossé's deputation, whom she sent to Rochelle with Malassize and La Proûtiere †, masters of requests, her creatures and confidents; but the true motive was to observe all the steps of the calvinists, to sound their inclinations, and draw them insensibly to an entire confidence in her, which was absolutely necessary to her designs; and she forgot nothing on her side that was capable of inspiring it. The marechal de Montmorency ‡ was sent to Rouen with the president de Morsan ‖, to do justice there for the outrages committed against the huguenots; any infringements of the treaty of peace were severely punished; and king Charles usually called it his treaty, and his peace. This prince would on all occasions artfully insinuate, that he consented to this peace, in order to support the princes of his

* Gaspard de Coligny, lord of Châtillon-sur-Loing, admiral of France.

† Philip Gourau de la Proûtiere.

‡ Francis de Montmorency, eldest son of Anne, constable of Montmorency, died in 1579.

‖ Bernard Prevot, lord of Morsan.

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blood against the too great authority of the Guises, whom he accused of conspiring with Spain to throw the kingdom into confusion §. These noblemen seemed daily to decrease in favour; and their complaints, whether true or false, gave all imaginable colour to this report. Charles did not even make the least difficulty of advancing as far as Blois and Bourgueil, to confer with the protestants, who for their deputies had named * Téligny, son-in-law to the admiral, Briquemaut, Beauvais-la-Nocle, and Cavagne; and these four deputies, when they went afterwards to Paris, were loaded with presents and civilities.

The marechal de Cossé did not fail to give weight to these appearances of sincerity: having by that means insinuated himself, he began to confer in earnest with the queen of Navarre on the scheme of marrying the prince her son to the princess Margaret, sister to the king of France; and was commissioned by Charles to promise a portion of four hundred thousand crowns. For the † prince of

§ Charles IX. had a natural aversion to the duke of Guise. He was so offended at his having demanded the princess Margaret his sister in marriage, that speaking on this subject one day to the grand prior of France, natural son of Henry II. he said, shewing him two swords, "Of these two swords that thou seest, there is one of them "to kill thee, if to-morrow at the chace thou dost not kill the duke "of Guise with the other." These words were repeated afterwards to the duke of Guise, who quitted his pursuit. F. Matthieu, book vi. p. 333. The same historian adds, that Charles IX. pursued the duke of Guise one day with a javelin in his hand, and struck it forcibly into a door, at the same moment that the duke came out of it, for having, in playing, touched him with a file. Ibid. 376.

* Charles, lord of Téligny in Rouergue, Montreüil, &c. married to Louisa de Coligny. He had something so sweet and amiable in his countenance, that at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, those persons who were first sent to assassinate him, stopped as in suspence, and had not resolution enough to strike the blow. Francis Briquemaut, John de Lafin, called Beauvais-la-Nocle, to distinguish him from Philip de Lafin his eldest brother. The author wrote Tavannes, but we must read Cavagne. Arnaud de Cavagne was a counsellor of the parliament of Toulouse.

† Henry the first, prince of Condé: Mary of Cleves, marchioness d'Isle, related to the Guises, and brought up in the court of the queen

Condé, he proposed the third heiress of Cleves, a very considerable match; and the ‡ countess d' Entremont for the admiral de Coligny, whom he rightly judged would be more difficult than all the others to be persuaded: to this last article, therefore, he added a nuptial present of a hundred thousand crowns, which the king engaged to give the admiral, together with all the benefices his brother the cardinal had enjoyed ‖. The marechal de Biron § was sent to confirm these shining offers, and entirely gained the queen of Navarre, by feigning to impart to her in confidence the suspicions which were entertained at court, that Philip II. king of Spain had poisoned the queen his wife, Elizabeth of France *,

queen of Navarre. She had no children by her husband, who afterwards married Charlotte Catherine de la Trimouille.

‡ Jaqueline de Montbèl, only daughter of Sebastian, count of Entremont, widow of Claud Batarnai, lord of Anton, who was killed at the battle of St. Denis. The duke of Savoy detained her some time in his dominions, but she escaped, and came to Rochelle to marry the admiral. His first wife was Charlotte de Laval.

‖ Odet de Châtillon, cardinal bishop of Beauvais, abbot of St. Benoit sur Loir, &c. He was made a cardinal at sixteen years of age; and although he was degraded from this dignity by pope Pius the fourth, he was publicly married in the habit of a cardinal to Elizabeth de Hauteville, a lady of Normandy, to whom he gave the title of countess of Beauvais, and as such she took rank at the public ceremonies. In 1564, he was accused of high treason before the parliament of Paris. He died in the beginning of the year 1571, at Southampton in England, whither he was sent during the war, to support the interests of the calvinists with queen Elizabeth; and after the peace he was commissioned by the king to treat of a marriage between this princess and the duke of Alençon. 'Tis certain, though d'Aubigné takes no notice of it, that his valet de chambre poisoned him with an apple, as he was preparing to return to France, being recalled by the admiral his brother. Thuanus, lib. 50.

D'Aubigny adds, that the admiral was in reality put in possession of great part of these benefices, and enjoyed them during the space of a year; and that Charles the ninth gave him also a hundred thousand francs, to purchase furniture for his house of Châtillon. D'Aubigny's history, vol. II. book i. chap. 1.

§ Armand de Gontault de Biron, marechal of France.

* Eldest daughter of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis. Most of the French historians are of this opinion. The Spaniards attribute her death to bleeding, and medicines, that the physicians, not knowing that she was with child, made her take. She died a little time after, in 1568.

into

who had been falſly accuſed of an intrigue with the infant Don Carlos. At the ſame time he told her, under an injunction of ſecrecy, that the court being reſolved to revenge this injury, would carry the war into Flanders and Artois, the reſtitution of which would be demanded from the king of Spain, as being ancient fiefs of the crown, like that of Navarre; and that they would commence hoſtilities by ſuccouring Mons, which the prince of Orange had juſt taken from the Spaniards †.

To compleat all he added, that the king had fixed upon the admiral to command his army, with the title of viceroy of the Low-Countries: and he was actually at that time permitted to nominate the general officers that were to ſerve under him, as a little while before he had done the commiſſioners of the peace. The report of this expedition into the Low-Countries ſpread ſo far, that it is certain the grand ſeignor offered the king of France his gallies and troops to make a diverſion, and to facilitate the conqueſt. With regard to the queen of England, nothing was omitted that was neceſſary to be done on this occaſion. Montmorency was ſent ambaſſador thither, with inſtructions to uſe every method, by which he might gain the princeſs, and prevail upon her to chuſe one of the king's brothers for a huſband. A marriage, which, they ſaid, would alike ſtrengthen the union of the two religions, and the two powers.

This conduct, ſo full of ſeeming frankneſs, might have been ſuſpected by its exceſs; yet it had the deſigned effect, and the diſcourſe of the courtiers did not a little contribute towards it. The deſire of breathing the air of a gay and magnificent court, and of enjoying the honours that were prepared for them, ſerved more than any thing elſe to baniſh

Don Carlos, prince of Spain, whom Philip II. his father alſo put to a violent death.

† William of Naſſau, prince of Orange.

their

their scruples. ‡ Beauvais, Boursaut, and Francourt, were the first who suffered themselves to be persuaded, and they made a point of it afterwards to persuade others. Some hints for a journey to Paris had been already thrown out; these three persons strongly supported that design, and represented to the queen of Navarre, that if she refused to go upon this occasion, she would not only give offence to the king, but lose all the advantage of this favourable situation of her affairs. At first she doubted, and continued irresolute during some months, but yielding about the end of the year 1571, preparations for the journey were made the beginning of 1572, and the time of their departure fixed the month of May following.

THE huguenots, one would imagine, affected to close their eyes, that they might not see a thousand circumstances, sufficient to make the sincerity of such great promises suspected. The king and queen could not so well dissemble, but that they suffered their real sentiments to be sometimes guessed at. It was known, that Charles had one day said to Catherine, "Do I not play my part well?" To which she answered, "Very well, my son, but you must "hold out to the end." Something also had taken air, relating to the result of the conferences held at Bayonne ‖, between the courts of France and Spain.

‡ ------Beauvais, governor to the prince of Navarre. Gervais Barbier, lord of Francourt, chancellor to the king of Navarre.

‖ In 1564, the queen-mother, after having travelled through great part of the kingdom, advanced almost to Bayonne, where she had many private conferences with the duke d'Albe, who had attended the queen of Spain thither. There were appearances sufficient to make it probable, that the subject of these conferences was an alliance between the pope, France, and the house of Austria, and the means by which they should extirpate the protestant party: but there is no certainty, that the design of the massacre of Bartholomew, which was not executed till seven years after, was formed there. Matthieu tells us, that the prince of Navarre being then a child, and almost continually with Catherine de Medicis, heard something of the plot to exterminate all the heads of the protestant party: he gave notice of it to the queen his mother, and she to the prince of Condé and the admiral,

The king of Navarre had been very ill received in his government of Guyenne: Bourdeaux had shut its gates against him; and the marquis de Villars *, who commanded the royal army there, would neither draw off his troops, nor permit them to receive orders from the prince. In Rochelle, they were ignorant that the king had actually a naval force over all the coast, which they supposed had been destined for Holland. The citizens had moreover discovered the artifices which Strozzy †, La Garde, Landsac, and Landereau, had made use of to gain the custody of their gates, and to seize their city. In fine, while they boasted of their exactness in maintaining the treaty of peace in its full extent, it was but too plain, that a great number of injuries were offered to the protestants, which the court either authorized, or dissembled the knowledge of. The chancellor de l'Hopital ‡ being inclined to punish the aggressors at Rouen, Dieppe, Orange, &c. this was the cause, together with his refusing to seal the revocation of an edict of pacification, that he was banished from court ‖. Without all these instances of treachery, the huguenots, one would imagine, were sufficiently warned by the knowledge they had of Catherine's temper, as well as that of her son. Could they flatter themselves that this

admiral, and the rage this inspired them with, carried them to the enterprize at Meaux. Hist. of France, vol. I. p. 283.

* Honorat, a bastard of Savoy, marquis of Villars.

† Philip Strozzy: the baron de la Garde, called captain Polin: Lansac the younger, brother of Lewis de Lusignan of St. Gelais, lord of Lansac: and Charles Rouhault, lord of Landereau, who commanded this fleet.

‡ Michael de l'Hopital, chancellor of France. The seals were taken from him, and given to John de Morvilliers. He died in 1573.

‖ I suppress two reasons drawn from the canons of the council of Constance and Trent, from whence the author infers, that the pope, the bishops, &c. did not think themselves obliged to keep their word with heretics. M. Fleury, and our most learned ecclesiastical critics, have fully justified the conduct of the first of these councils, with regard to John Hus and Jerome of Prague; and the good faith of the second towards the protestants.

prince,

prince, naturally furious, and vindictive, would forget the attempt at Meaux *, the invasion of Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Lyon, &c. Havre given up by the huguenots to the English, foreigners introduced into the heart of the kingdom, so many battles, so much blood shed? Reasons of state, that phrase so familiar with sovereigns, that under the disguise of policy they may satisfy their personal resentment, and other passions, will scarce permit them to suffer their subjects to engage in such enterprizes with impunity. Catherine, to that time, had always persisted to impute the death of her husband to them, which she could never pardon, no more than their having treated the whole family of Medicis like the enemies of Christ. Nor was there less imprudence in trusting the Parisians, whose animosity and fury against the huguenots had broke out again, in the affair of the cross of Gatine †.

* In the year 1567, the prince of Condé, and the admiral de Coligny, formed the design of seizing Charles IX. at Meaux, where he then was, and from whence the queen-mother made him set out precipitately at night, to return to Paris. This design would have been executed, but for the seasonable arrival of three thousand Swiss, who covered the king in his march, and the calvinists durst not attack him. See the historians.

† The following is the fact, as it is related by M. de Thou, book i. anno 1571. Philip Gatine, a rich merchant of St. Denis-street, having some years before been convicted of lending his house to the huguenots, to serve them for a church, he was, by the parliament of Paris, condemned to be hanged or burnt the 30th of July. His house was demolished, and in its place a pillar was erected, in the form of a cross, which was afterwards called the cross of Gatine. With the edict of pacification, passed in the year 1570, the calvinists obtained, that this cross should be thrown down, which after some delay was at last executed; but it occasioned such violent tumults amongst the populace, that the council was obliged to send some troops thither, under the command of the duke de Montmorency. Felibien, in the second volume of his History of the city of Paris, says, that this cross was replaced at the entry of the church-yard of the Innocents, after the iron plate, upon which the decree of the parliament was engraved, had been taken away; and it is still to be seen there. Sauval, vol. II. book viii. of the Antiquities of Paris, mentions the place where this house stood, in the street of St. Denis, over-against the street of the Lombards, where indeed there is a hollow in the ground, which possibly might be the foundation of Gatine's house.

From

From all this, my father conceived ſuch ſtrong apprehenſions, that when the report of the court of Navarre's journey to Paris firſt reached him, he could not give credit to it. Firmly perſuaded, that the preſent calm would be of ſhort continuance, he made haſte to take advantage of it, in order to ſhut himſelf up immediately with all his effects in Rochelle, when every one elſe talked of nothing but leaving it. The queen of Navarre herſelf informed him more particularly of this deſign ſoon after, and requeſted him to join her in her way to Vendome. My father prepared to go; and being deſirous of taking me with him, he ordered me ſome days before his departure, to attend him in his chamber, and no one being preſent but la Durandiere, my preceptor, he thus ſpoke to me: "Maximilian, "ſince cuſtom does not permit me to make you the "principal heir of my eſtates, to ballance this diſ-"advantage, I will endeavour to enrich you with "virtues; by means of which, I hope, as hath "been predicted to me, you will one day diſtinguiſh "yourſelf. Prepare, therefore, to ſupport with "fortitude whatever difficulties you may meet with "in the world, and by nobly ſurmounting them, "procure the eſteem of all good men, particularly "that of the maſter to whom I am deſirous of giving "you, and in whoſe ſervice I recommend to you to "live and die. I am going to Vendome, to meet "the queen of Navarre, and the prince her ſon; "diſpoſe yourſelf to accompany me, and when I "preſent you to him offer him your ſervice; and, "that you may expreſs yourſelf gracefully, ſtudy a "little ſpeech for that purpoſe." Accordingly I attended him to Vendome*. He found there a ge-

* Francis de Bethune, the author's father, followed the prince of Condé to the battle of Jarnac, and was there taken priſoner. An indictment of high treaſon was made out againſt him, for having borne arms againſt his majeſty, and his eſtates were ſeized, but were reſtored to him at the peace. Du Cheſne.

neral

neral security, and an air of satisfaction on every face, which in public he durst not object to; but whenever he had an opportunity of conversing in private, either with the queen, the prince, the admiral, the counts Ludovic† and Rochefoucault, and the other protestant lords, he very freely told them, he was surprised that they had so soon forgot the many occasions that had been given them for well-grounded apprehensions; that from a reconciled enemy, excessive promises and civilities were no less suspicious, and much more dangerous, than open menaces and declared hatred: that it was hazarding still more, to expose a young prince, too little guarded against the allurements of pleasure, to the attractions of the most voluptuous court in the world. He represented to them, that instead of dreaming of an alliance so unhappy as that must necessarily be, between this prince and a princess who professed a different religion, they ought rather to have endeavoured to marry him to the queen of England, who might have assisted him in his attempts to recover the crown of Navarre, and possibly, as occasions offered, that of France likewise. He had so strong a foreboding of the fatal consequences of this French match, that he often said, if the nuptials were celebrated at Paris, the bridal favours would be crimson. This prudent advice was looked upon to be the effect of weakness and timidity. My father, not willing to appear wiser than so many persons of more distinguished understandings, suffered himself, contrary to his opinion, to be driven with the torrent, and only demanded time to put himself into a condition of appearing with that splendor his rank required, in a court where every thing was magnificent. For this purpose, he again took the road to Rosny; but before he went, he presented me to the

† Or Lewis of Nassau, brother to William prince of Orange. Francis, count of Rochefoucault, and prince of Marsillac, slain in the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

prince

prince of Navarre, in the presence of the queen his mother, and, in my name, gave him assurances of an inviolable attachment; which I confirmed with great boldness, putting one knee to the ground. The prince raised me immediately, and after twice embracing me, had the goodness to commend the zeal which my family had always discovered for him, and, with that engaging air so natural to him, promised me his protection; a promise I at that time regarded as a mere effect of his complaisance, but which I have since seen accomplished far beyond my hopes and merit. I did not return with my father to Rosny, but went to Paris in the queen of Navarre's train. As soon as I arrived, sensible of the necessity my youth had of instruction, I applyed myself closely to my studies, without neglecting, however, to make my court to the prince my master. I lived with a governor and valet de chambre, at a distance from the court, in a quarter of Paris, where almost all the colleges stood, and continued there till the bloody catastrophe, which happened a short time after.

NOTHING could be more kind than the reception the queen of Navarre, her children, and principal servants met with from the king, and queen-mother, nor more obliging than their treatment of them; Charles IX. continually praising the virtues and good qualities of the count de la Rochefoucault, de Téligny, Resnel *, Beau-disner, Piles, Pluviaut, Colombieres, Grammont, Duras, Bouchavannes, Gamache, my father, and other protestant lords. The admiral he always called father, and took upon himself the care of reconciling him with the princes

* Antony de Clermont, marquis of Resnel; Galiot de Crussol, lord of Beau-disner, brother to the duke d'Uzès; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, in Perigord; N--- de Rochefort lord of Pluviaut Claveau, a gentleman of Poitevin; Francis de Bricqueville de Colombiéres; Antony de Grammont, viscount d'Aster; John de Durefort, viscount Duras; Bayancort, lord of Bouchavanes; Nicholas Rouhaut, lord of Gamache.

of

of the house of Guise. To him also he granted the pardon of Villandry*, which he had denied to his own mother and his brothers, his crime being thought too great for forgiveness. When the admiral was wounded, the king, at the first news he heard of it, broke into oaths and threatenings; and declared, that the assassin † should be sought for in

* Villandry being one day at play with the king, was so rash as to commit some offence against majesty itself, for which he was sentenced to be put to death. Davila, book v. See d'Aubigné, who relates this fact more particularly, vol. II. book i. ch. 2.

† He was called Nicholas de Louviers, lord of Maurevert in Brie. "Must I," said Charles IX. throwing his racket at him in a rage, "be perpetually troubled with new broils? shall I never have any "quiet?" Many persons have doubted, whether these threatenings of Charles, and his violent transports of rage, were not sincere; and whether this prince, who had at first entered into all the designs of the queen his mother, did not suffer himself at last to be gained by the admiral de Coligny, in those private conversations they had together, in which the admiral never ceased to represent to him the fatal consequences of this princess's bad government, and to exhort him to shake off his dependence on her. Villeroy's Memoirs of state, vol. II. p. 55. and 66, and many other writers of those times, produce such strong proofs of this fact, that it is very difficult to decide upon the question. If the Memoirs of Tavannes may be relied on, Charles IX. and his mother agreed so ill, that this princess saw no other means of preserving her authority, which she was upon the point of losing, than by causing the admiral to be assassinated; and this writer pretends, that Maurevert was suborned, unknown to the king, to strike the blow. On the other side, the historian Matthieu believes he has sufficient reason to maintain, vol. I. book vi. that Charles IX. deceived the admiral from first to last. He relates, that this prince observing the opposition some of his counsellors gave to the design of extirpating the huguenots, represented to them in a rage, that the kingdom was lost if their plot was not executed that same night, for a longer delay would put it out of their power to prevent the schemes the huguenots were forming; who, he told them, were well acquainted with their design. He added, that those who did not approve of his resolution, would never be considered by him as his servants.

But this historian does not perceive that a few pages after, he himself lessens the weight of these proofs, by relating a conversation that passed between Henry III. and his physician Miron, in Poland; of which the following is an abridgment, for it is too long to be inserted here at length. Henry III. then duke of Anjou, going, some days before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, into the chamber of the king his brother, observed, that this prince looked upon him with eyes so full of rage, and such indications of fury in his air, that apprehending the consequence of these violent emotions, he softly re-

the most secret recesses of the palaces of the Guises. He made all the court, after his example, visit the wounded person; and when the Guises came to in-

gained the door, and hurried immediately to give the alarm to the queen-mother. She, from what had happened to herself, being but too much disposed to believe it, resolved to get rid of Coligny without further delay. Maurevert having partly failed in his attempt, since he only wounded the admiral in the arm, the queen-mother and the duke of Anjou, finding they could not hinder the king from visiting him, thought it necessary to accompany him, and, under pretence of sparing the admiral's strength, interrupted, as often as they could, the private conversation they held together. During this visit, Catherine, who was surrounded with calvinists, observed, that they frequently whispered to each other, and looked on her from time to time with very suspicious eyes. This adventure, she acknowledged, was the most dangerous of all she had ever been engaged in. As they returned, she pressed the king so vehemently to tell her the subject of his private discourse with the admiral, that this prince could not hinder himself from betraying it, by telling her, with his usual oath, that she spoiled all his affairs, or some words to that purpose. Catherine, now more alarmed than before, had recourse to an artifice that succeeded. She told her son, that he was ready to fall into the snare the admiral had prepared for him; that he was upon the point of being delivered up to the huguenots, combined with foreigners; and had nothing to hope for from his catholic subjects, who, through disgust at finding themselves betrayed, had chosen another leader. All the other counsellors, excepting only the marechal de Retz, seconded her arguments so strongly, that Charles himself being seized with fear, and passing from one extreme to the other, was the first to resolve, and even press, not only the murder of the admiral, but of all the huguenots; to the end, said he, that there may not one be left to reproach me. All the rest of that day, and the following night, they consulted upon the means of executing this design. At break of day, Charles, the queen-mother, and the duke of Anjou, went to the gate of the Louvre, and hearing a pistol go off, fear and remorse seized them. The king sent orders to the duke of Guise, to proceed no farther. To which the duke replied, his orders had come too late: and they recovering from their consternation, joined in every thing that was afterwards performed.

'Tis possible, I think, to reconcile these different opinions, and preserve to the proofs alledged on each part all their force, by saying, that Charles IX. who certainly invited the admiral to Paris with no other view than to have him murdered with the rest of the huguenots, suffered himself to be shaken by his arguments; and that he embraced alternately propositions from each of the contending parties; and from their different reasons, was thrown into a state of irresolution, from whence he was only freed by the natural impetuosity of his disposition, which Catherine well knew how to take advantage of. Coligny's security proceeded from his not being able to doubt the efficacy of his arguments on the mind of this prince; otherwise,

treat that he would condescend to hear their justification, he gave them a very unfavourable reception. The Spanish ambassador was on this occasion so ill treated, that he thought fit to withdraw: nor could pope Pius V. escape the resentment of Charles, he having refused to give the necessary dispensation for Henry's marriage with the princess Margaret, for which the most magnificent preparations were then making. The king carried his respect for this prince so far, as to dispense with his going into the church of Notre-dame *, and even with observing any of the romish ceremonies. The cardinal de Bourbon † making some remonstrances upon these tolerations, which to him seemed to exceed all bounds, was dismissed with a severe reprimand; and when the queen of Navarre died, the whole court appeared sensibly

wise, it would not have been possible for Charles to have so long imposed upon a man of the admiral's great prudence and sagacity. A young king of three and twenty years of age, who till then had been almost always governed by others, was not capable of that deep policy which they have had the complaisance to attribute to him: however, it must be confessed, that this young prince already carried dissimulation to its utmost height, of which his having never discovered the secrets of his council, or those of the admiral, to each other, although strongly pressed to it, is an incontestable proof.

* "The king, says le Grain, was resolved that the marriage "should not be celebrated in a manner wholly conformable to neither "religion. Not to the calvinist, because the vows were to be re-"ceived by a priest, who was to be the cardinal of Bourbon; nor to "the romish, because these vows were to be received without the "sacramental ceremonies of the church.

"A great scaffold was erected in the court before the principal "gate and entry of the church of Paris, on Monday August the "18th, 1572, upon which were betrothed and married on the same "day, and by a single act, The most high, &c. This done, the "bridegroom retired to meeting to hear a sermon, and the bride went "into the church to hear mass, according to the articles of the trea-"ty of marriage; after which, they both came to the entertainment "prepared for them in the great hall of the palace," &c. B. le. Grain, Dec. of Henry the great, book ii.

Charles the ninth gave his sister three hundred thousand crowns for a portion; and the queen of Navarre yielded the Upper and Low Counties of Armagnac, &c. to her son at his marriage. F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi.

† Charles de Bourbon, cardinal, uncle to Henry IV.

affected, and went into deep mourning. In a word, it is not passing too harsh a censure upon this conduct of Catherine and her son, to call it almost an incredible prodigy of dissimulation; since a man of the admiral de Coligny's great wisdom fell into the snare, notwithstanding a thousand circumstances concurred to make him apprehend the danger that was approaching: for it was loudly said, that Genlis and La Noüe ‖, who had been sent to the assistance of the prince of Orange, were defeated with the connivance of the French court, which, whilst uncertain of success in the principal object of its dissimulation, was not willing to hazard all the consequences which that dissimulation might produce.

They were also informed of the conferences which the queen-mother, and the principal ministers, held with cardinal Alexandrin, nephew of pope Pius V. and with the Guises; who were twice discovered conversing in masques with the king, the queen-mother, the duke de Retz §, and the chancellor de Birague *: this was sufficient to shew what they ought to think of their pretended disgrace. In the death of the queen of Navarre †, they perceived

‖ John d'Angest d'Ivoy, of the ancient house of Genlis. Francis de la Noüe, a gentleman of the greatest reputation in the protestant party, and esteemed even by the catholics themselves. The admiral speaking of this misfortune to Charles the ninth, attributed it to the secret being but ill kept in the council. Charles demanded of the duke of Albe, by Claude Mondoucet his resident in the Low Countries, the French protestant gentlemen, who had been taken prisoners. De Thou, anno 1572, book li.

§ Albert de Gondy, duke of Retz, marechal of France.

* René de Birague, a Milanese, bishop of Lavaur, afterwards cardinal. He was at that time only keeper of the seals, and was not made chancellor till the following year, after the death of the chancellor de l'Hôpital. See his elogium in the negociations of Busbeq. Aug. Gist. Busbequii Epist. 29. Of him it was said, that he was cardinal without a title, chancellor without seals, and priest without a benefice.

† Her lodgings were in the palace of Charles Gaillart, bishop of Chartres, a man violently suspected of calvinism. Soon after her return from Blois, whither she had followed the court, she was seized with a fever, and died on the fifth day of her illness. Many different prevailed concerning the manner of her death. The Memoirs

plain indications of poison. It never was doubted, but that the wound the admiral received came from the house of Villemur, preceptor to the Guises; and the assassin was met in his flight, upon a horse belonging to the king's stable. Even the guards that Charles † (under pretence of securing the admiral's person from the like attempts) placed about him, were almost all his declared enemies; nor was it less certain, that all the citizens of Paris were furnished with arms, which by the king's order they kept in their houses.

moirs of l'Etoile, d'Aubigné, and all the calvinists, attribute it to poison, which they say was given her in a pair of gloves by a Florentine, named René, perfumer to the queen-mother. De Serres, in his Memoirs, gives us to understand, that the physicians who opened her body, had orders not to touch her brain, which was supposed to be affected by the poison: but they are all contradicted by le Grain, and several others, who maintain, that she died of a pleurisy, occasioned by her being over-heated in making preparations for the nuptials of her son: to which was added, the vexation she conceived at being obliged to kneel to the holy sacrament as it passed before her house, on Corpus Christi day. La Popelinière, Perefixe, and De Thou, endeavour to remove all suspicions of poison. The last mentioned assures us, that Charles IX. ordered the head of this princess to be opened, as well as the rest of her body; and if the physicians did not do it, it was because they found the true cause of her death in an abscess she had in her body. This is also the opinion of Matthieu the historian.

† This is all true, and proves that the queen-mother, and not the king, was the designer of this stratagem. 'Tis hard to say, what was her real intention by this stroke; whether she sought to get rid of a man who possessed too much power over the king's mind, and was capable of ruining her design of extirpating all the huguenots; or whether, if the admiral had died of this wound, she would have confined her vengeance to his single death; or lastly, whether she expected the noise of this assassination would excite the calvinists in Paris to revolt, and by that means furnish her with the occasion she wanted to fall upon them, for which her party was already prepared. In the council, many expedients to give a pretence for attacking them were proposed; amongst others, the assault of an artificial fort built in the Louvre, which would afford them an opportunity of turning the feigned slaughter into a real one against the huguenots; at last, they resolved to put them all to the sword in the night.

The admiral lodged in the street Betisy in an inn, which is called at present the Hotel S. Pierre. The chamber where he was murdered is still shewn there.

THE most clear-sighted amongst the huguenots, yielding to proofs so convincing, quitted the court, and Paris itself, or at least lodged in the suburbs. Of this number were Mess. de Langoiran ‖, de Frontenay, the viscount de Chartres, de Loncaunay, de Rabodanges, du Breüil, de Segur, de Sey, du Touchet, des Hayes, de Saint Gelais, de Chouppes, de Beauvais, de Grandrie, de Saint Estienne, d'Arnes, de Boissec, and many other gentlemen of Normandy and Poitou. Happily my father was one of those, whose life was preserved by a wise and prudent distrust. When he was pressed to come nearer the court, he replied, that he found the air of the suburbs agreed better with his constitution, and that of the fields was still more advantageous for it. When they were informed that the bishop of Valence *, in taking leave of the king for his ambassy to Poland, had penetrated into the secret, and been indiscreet enough to reveal it to some of his friends, and that they had intercepted letters sent to Rome by the car-

‖ N——— de Montferrant, baron of Langoiran. John de Rohan, lord of Frontenay. John de Ferrieres, viscount of Chartres. N--- de Loncaunay, a gentleman of Normandy, slain at the battle of Yvry, at seventy years of age. N--- de Rabodanges. In the manuscripts in the king's library, N° 8699. p. 31, may be seen the original of a letter of Charles the ninth to M. de Rabodanges, dated from St. Maur, May 6, 1566, which begins thus, "Monsieur de Rabodanges, I know with what fidelity you have acted on occasion of the commission which I delivered you some time ago, to punish the vagabonds and robbers of your country."

N----- de Segur de Pardaillan. N----- de Touchet, a gentleman of Normandy, near Domfront. N--- des Hayes Gasque. Guy de Lusignan of St. Galais, son to Lewis lord of Lansac. Peter de Chouppes. John de la Fin, lord of Beauvais la Nocle. Peter de Grandrie, steward in ordinary of the king's houshold, &c. All these persons earnestly pressed the admiral to leave Paris: "By doing so," he replied, "I must shew either fear or distrust. My honour would be injured by the one, by the other the king. I should be again obliged to have recourse to a civil war; and I would rather die than see again the miseries I have seen, and suffer the distress I have already suffered." Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. p. 343.

* Jean de Montluc, bishop of Valence.

dinal

dinal de Pellevé *, in which he unfolded the whole myſtery to the cardinal de Lorrain; it was then that theſe gentlemen renewed their intreaties to the king of Navarre, that he would either leave Paris, or permit them to retire to their own houſes. To this advice the prince oppoſed that which had been given him by a great many other perſons, and ſome even of the proteſtant party; for where are not traitors to be found? They warned him to be cautious, they told him the names of all thoſe who had been gained by the queen-mother to deceive him. He liſtened to nothing. The admiral † appeared no leſs incredulous: his bad deſtiny began by blinding him to lead him to his ruin. It would have been happy, if he had acted with the ſame prudence that the marechal de Montmorency did; who could never be drawn from Chantilly, notwithſtanding repeated invitations from the king, who preſt him to come and partake his favour with the admiral, and be near his perſon, to aſſiſt him with his advice.

If I was inclined to increaſe the general horror, inſpired by an action ‡ ſo barbarous as that perpe-

* Nicolas de Pellevé, cardinal, archbiſhop of Rheims, paſſionately devoted to the league. Charles, cardinal of Lorrain.

† It has been ſaid, that all the great actions which the admiral Coligny performed in his life, were againſt his God, his religion, his country, and his king; how much is it to be lamented, that he did not employ his talents more uſefully! All the hiſtorians agree in ſaying, he was the moſt conſummate politician, and greateſt warrior that ever appeared. 'Tis thought that it was in conſequence of the advice he gave to the prince of Orange, that the Low Countries rebelled againſt Spain, maintained the war during ten years, and formed the plan of a republic, which in part has ſucceeded. It is alſo believed, and not without probability, that he would have made a like attempt in France. In Villeroi's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 322. 340. he is accuſed with great violence, but he always ſteadily denied, particularly in his laſt will, his ever having any intention of attempting the perſon of the king. See his elogium, and political deſigns in Brantome, vol. III. De Thou, and the other hiſtorians.

‡ What M. de Sully ſays of the maſſacre ought not to be thought too ſevere: "An execrable action, cries Pereſixe, that never had, "and I truſt God never will have, its like." Pope Pius V. was ſo much afflicted at it, that he ſhed tears; but Gregory XIII. who ſucceeded him, ordered a public thankſgiving to God for this maſſacre to be

trated on the 24th of August, 1572, and too well known by the name of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, I should in this place enlarge upon the num-

be offered at Rome, and sent a legate to congratulate Charles IX. and to exhort him to continue it. The following is a short account of this massacre: All the necessary measures having been taken, the ringing of the bells of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, for matins, was the signal for beginning the slaughter. The admiral de Coligny was first murdered, in the midst of his servants, by Besmes, a French gentleman, and a domestic of the duke of Guise; the duke himself, and the chevalier de Guise staying below in the court. His body was thrown out of the window. They cut off his head, and carried it to the queen-mother, together with his box of papers; among which, 'tis said, they found the memoirs of his own times, composed by himself. After they had offered all sorts of indignities to the bleeding carcase, it was hung on the gibbet of Montfaucon, whence the marechal de Montmorency caused it to be taken down in the night, and buried at Chantilly. The whole house of Guise had been personally animated against the admiral, ever since the assassination of Claude duke of Guise, by Poltrot de Meré, whom they believed to have been incited to this crime by him; and 'tis certain, the admiral was never able to clear himself of this imputation. If this cruel slaughter (as many people are fully persuaded) was only an effect of the Guise's resentment, who advised the queen-mother to it with a view of revenging their own injuries; it must be confessed, that no particular person ever drew so severe a vengeance for an offence. All the domestics of the admiral were afterwards slain; and the slaughter was at the same time begun by the king's emissaries in all parts of the city. The most distinguished of the calvinists that perished, were Francis de la Rochefoucault, who having been at play part of the night with the king, and finding himself seized in bed by men in masques, thought it was the king and his courtiers, who came to divert themselves with him. Antony de Clermont, marquis de Resnel, was murdered by his own kinsman Lewis de Clermont, of Bussy d'Amboise, with whom he was then at law for the marquisate of Clermont. Charles de Quellenec, baron of Pont in Bretagne, whose dead body excited the curiosity of the ladies of the court, on account of a process carried on by his wife, Catherine de Parthenay, daughter and heiress of John de Soubize. Francis Nonpar de Caumont, was murdered in his bed, betwixt his two sons; one of them was stabbed by his side, but the other, by counterfeiting himself dead, and lying concealed under the bodies of his father and brother, escaped. Téligny, son-in-law to the admiral; Charles de Beaumanoir de Lavardin; Antony de Marafin, lord of Guerchy; Beaudisner, Pluviaut, Berny, du Briou, governor to the marquis of Conti; Beauvais, governor to the king of Navarre; Colombieres, Francourt, &c. The count of Montgomery was pursued by the duke of Guise as far as Montfort l'Amaury. The king pardoned the viscounts of Grammont and Duras, and Gamache and Bouchavannes: the three brothers of the marechal de Montmorency were also spared, through fear that he might

ber, the quality, the virtues, and great talents of those who were inhumanly murdered on this horrible day, as well in Paris as in every part of their kingdom: I should mention at least the ignominious treatment, the fiendlike cruelty, and savage insults these miserable victims suffered from their butchers, and which in death were a thousand times more terrible than death itself. I have writings still in my hands, which would confirm the report of the court of France having made the most pressing instances to the neighbouring courts to follow its example with regard to the protestants, or at least to refuse an asylum to those unfortunate people; but I prefer the honour of the nation to the satisfying a malignant pleasure, which many persons would take in lengthening out a recital, wherein might be found the names of those who were so lost to humanity, as to dip their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and even their own relations. I would, were it in my power, for ever obliterate the memory of a day that divine vengeance made France groan for, by a continual succession of miseries, blood, and horror, during six and twenty years; for it is not possible to judge otherwise, if one reflects on all that passed from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598. 'Tis with regret that I cannot omit what happened upon this occasion to the prince, who is the subject of these Memoirs, and to myself.

I was in bed, and awaked from sleep three hours after midnight, by the sound of all the bells, and the confused cries of the populace. My governor St. Julian, with my valet de chambre, went hastily out to know the cause; and I never afterwards heard more of these men, who without doubt were amongst the first that were sacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber dress-

might hereafter revenge their death. See the historians and other writers, and that fine description of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by M. de Voltaire in his Henriade, Canto second.

ſing myſelf, when in a few moments I ſaw my landlord enter, pale, and in the utmoſt conſternation: he was of the reformed religion, and having learned what the matter was, had conſented to go to maſs, to ſave his life, and preſerve his houſe from being pillaged. He came to perſuade me to do the ſame, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him, but reſolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I had ſtudied: though the great diſtance between the houſe where I then was, and the college, made the attempt very dangerous. Having diſguiſed myſelf in a ſcholar's gown, I put a large prayer-book under my arm, and went into the ſtreet. I was ſeized with horror inexpreſſible, at the ſight of the furious murderers; who running from all parts, forced open the houſes, and cried aloud, "Kill, kill, maſſacre the huguenots:" the blood which I ſaw ſhed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midſt of a body of guards; they ſtopped me, interrogated me, and were beginning to uſe me ill, when, happily for me, the book that I carried was perceived, and ſerved me for a paſſport. Twice after this I fell into the ſame danger, from which I extricated myſelf with the ſame good fortune. At laſt I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger ſtill greater than any I had yet met with, waited me. The porter having twice refuſed me entrance, I continued ſtanding in the midſt of the ſtreet, at the mercy of the furious murderers, whoſe numbers increaſed every moment, and who were evidently ſeeking for their prey, when it came into my mind to aſk for La Faye, the principal of this college, a good man, by whom I was tenderly beloved. The porter, prevailed upon by ſome ſmall pieces of money which I put into his hand, admitted me; and my friend carried me to his apartment, where two inhuman prieſts, whom I heard mention Sicilian veſpers, wanted to force me from him, that they might cut me in pieces, ſaying the

the order was, not to spare even infants at the breast. All the good man could do, was to conduct me privately to a distant chamber, where he locked me up. Here I was confined three days, uncertain of my destiny; and saw no one but a servant of my friend's, who came from time to time to bring me provisions.

At the end of these three days, the prohibition for murdering, and pillaging any more of the protestants, being published, I was suffered to leave my cell; and immediately after I saw Ferriere and la Vieville, two soldiers of the guard, who were my father's creatures, enter the college. They were armed, and came, without doubt, to rescue me by force wherever they should find me. They gave my father a relation of what had happened to me; and eight days afterwards I received a letter from him, in which he expressed the fears he had suffered on my account, and advised me to continue in Paris, since the prince I served was not at liberty to quit it. He added, that to avoid exposing myself to an evident danger, it was necessary I should resolve to follow that prince's example, and to go to mass. In effect, the king of Navarre had found no other means of saving his life. He was awaked, with the prince of Condé, two hours before day, by a great number of soldiers, who rushed boldly into a chamber, in the Louvre, where they lay, and insolently commanded them to dress themselves, and attend the king. They would not suffer the two princes to take their swords with them; who, as they passed, beheld several of their gentlemen * massacred before their eyes. The king waited for them, and received them with a countenance and

* James de Segur, baron of Pardaillan, a Gascon; Armand de Clermont, baron of Piles, a Perigordin, &c. Gaston de Levis, lord of Leyran, took refuge under the queen of Navarre's bed, who saved his life. Some persons were sent to Châtillon, to seize Francis de Châtillon the admiral's son, and Guy d'Andelot's son, but they both escaped, and fled to Geneva. Armand de Gontault de Biron was saved by fortifying himself in the arsenal.

eyes in which fury was visibly painted: he ordered them, with oaths and blasphemies, which were familiar with him, to quit a religion that had been only taken up, he said, to serve them for a cloak to their rebellion. The condition to which these princes § were reduced, could not hinder them from discovering that they should obey him with grief. The king, transported with anger, told them, in a fierce and haughty tone, "That he "would no longer be contradicted in his opinions "by his subjects; that they, by their example, "should teach others to revere him as the image of "God, and cease to be enemies to the images of "his mother." He ended by declaring, that if they did not go to mass, he would treat them as criminals guilty of treason against human and divine majesty. The manner in which these words were pronounced, not suffering the princes to doubt if they were sincere, they yielded to necessity, and performed what was required of them. Henry was obliged even to send an edict into his dominions, by which the exercise of any other religion but the Romish was forbid. Tho' this submission preserved his life, yet in other things he was not better treated; and he suffered a thousand capricious insults from the court: free by intervals, but more often closely confined, and treated as a criminal, his domestics sometimes permitted to attend him, then all on a sudden not suffered to appear.

As for me, I employed this leisure in the most advantageous manner I was able. I had it no longer in my choice to prosecute my study of the learned

§ As Henry went to the king, Catherine gave orders that they should lead him under the vaults, and make him pass through the guards drawn up in files on each side, in menacing postures. He trembled and recoiled two or three steps back, when immediately Nançai-la-Chatre, captain of the guards, endeavoured to remove his apprehensions, by swearing they should do him no hurt. Henry, tho' he gave but little credit to his words, was obliged to go on amidst the carabines and halberts. Perefixe's history of Henry the great.

languages,

languages, nor of whatever is called learning: this application, which my father had ſtrongly recommended to me, became impracticable from the moment I lived in the court. It was with regret that I parted with an excellent preceptor, to whoſe care he had intruſted my education; he himſelf perceiving he could be no longer uſeful to me, aſked leave to retire. From his hands I paſſed into thoſe of a man named Chrétien, whom the king of Navarre kept in his train, and who was ordered by him to teach me mathematics and hiſtory; two ſciences that ſoon conſoled me for thoſe I renounced, becauſe I felt an inclination for them, which I have ever ſince preſerved: the reſt of my time was employed in learning to write and read well, and in performing all thoſe exercises that give eaſe and graceſulneſs to the perſon. It was in theſe principles, to which a ſtill greater attention to form the manners was joined, that that method of educating youth conſiſted, which was known to be peculiar to the king of Navarre, for he himſelf had been brought up in that manner. I continued to follow it till I was ſixteen years of age, when the ſituation of affairs throwing both him and me into the tumults of arms, from which we had no hope of being freed, to theſe exerciſes thoſe only that related to war ſucceeded; which I began by learning to ſhoot, and renounced all others. In ſuch circumſtances all that a young man can do, is to improve his morals, if he cannot his genius; for even the hurry and confuſion of arms offer excellent ſchools of virtue and politeneſs to him that is deſirous of profiting by them: but miſerable, and that during his whole life, is he, who engages in a profeſſion ſo fatal to youth, without having ſtrength or inclination to reſiſt bad examples: though he ſhould have the good fortune to preſerve himſelf from being tainted with any ſhameful vice; how will he be able to inſtruct and fortify his heart in theſe principles, which wiſdom dictates as well to a private man as a prince,

prince, but by making virtue habitual by practice? so that any good action may never become painful, and that, if reduced to a necessity of saving all by a crime, or losing all by a virtuous action, he may find his duty and inclination the same.

It was not long before Charles felt the most violent remorse for the barbarous action to which they had forced him to give the sanction of his name and authority. From the evening of the 24th of August, he was observed to groan involuntarily at the recital of a thousand strokes of cruelty, which every one boasted of in his presence. Of all those who were about the person of this prince, none possessed so great a share of his confidence, as Ambrose Paré, his surgeon. This man, though a huguenot, lived with him in so great degree of familiarity, that, on the day of the massacre, Charles telling him, the time was now come when the whole kingdom would be catholics; he replied without being alarmed, "By the light of God, sire, I cannot believe that "you have forgot your promise never to command "me to do four things, namely, to enter into my "mother's womb, to be present in the day of battle, to quit your service, or to go to mass." The king soon after took him aside, and disclosed to him freely the trouble of his soul: "Ambrose, said he, I "know not what has happened to me these two or "three days past, but I feel my mind and body as "much at enmity with each other, as if I was seized "with a fever: sleeping, or waking, the murdered "huguenots seem ever present to my eyes, with "ghastly faces, and weltering in blood. I wish the "innocent and helpless had been spared." The order which was published the following day, forbidding the continuance of the massacre, was in consequence of this conversation.

The king hoped to retrieve his honour, by publicly disavowing all that had been done. In the letters patent which he sent into the provinces, he threw

threw all upon the Guises, and would have had the massacre pass for an effect of their hatred to the admiral. The private letters he wrote on this subject to England, Germany, Switzerland, and other neighbouring states, were all conceived in the same terms.

It is not to be doubted, but the queen-mother, and her council, made the king comprehend the bad consequence of so formal a disavowal; for, at the end of eight days, his sentiments and language were so much changed, that he went to hold his bed of justice in the parliament, and ordered other letters patent to be registered, which declared, that nothing was acted on the 24th of August but by his express commands *, and to punish the huguenots; to each of the principals of which party a capital crime was imputed, in order, if possible, to give the name and colour of a just execution to that detestable butchery. These letters were addressed to the governors of provinces, with orders to publish them, and pursue the rest of the pretended guilty. I ought here to make honourable mention of the counts de Tende ‖, and

* Nothing is more certain, than that he was seen with a carabine in his hand during the massacre, which, 'tis said, he fired upon the calvinists that were flying. The last marechal de Tessé, in his youth, was acquainted with an old man of ninety years of age, who had been page to Charles IX. and often told him, that he himself had loaded that carabine. 'Tis also true, that this prince went with his court to view the body of the admiral, which hung by the feet with a chain of iron to the gallows of Montfaucon; and one of his courtiers observing it smelt ill, Charles replied, as Vitellius had done before him, "The body of a dead enemy always smells well." These two anecdotes I relate after the author of the Henriade, in his notes, p. 32 and 37.

‖ Claude de Savoy, count of Tende, saved the lives of all the protestants in Dauphiny. When he received the king's letter, by which he was directed to destroy them, he said, That could not be his majesty's order. Eleonor de Chabot, count of Charny, lieutenant general in Burgundy: there was only one calvinist murdered at Dijon. Francis de Mandelot, governor of Lyon: he was resolved to save the protestants, nevertheless they were all massacred in the prisons where he had put them for security. He is said, by M. de Thou, to have only feigned ignorance of this barbarity. Bertrand de Simiane, lord of Gordes, a man in great esteem. N--- de St. Heran de Montmorin,

de Charny; of messieurs de Mandelot, de Gordes, de Saint Heran, and de Carouge, who boldly refused to execute such orders in their governments. The viscount d'Ortez, governor of Baïonne, had resolution enough to answer Charles IX. who wrote to to him with his own hand, "That on this point he "must not expect any obedience from him."

THE number of protestants massacred, during eight days, over all the kingdom, amounted to seventy thousand This cruel blow struck the party with such terror, that believing itself wholly extinct, nothing was talked of but submitting, or flying into foreign countries. A bold and vigorous stroke for once broke this resolution. * Renier, a gentleman of the reformed religion, having by a kind of miracle escaped out of the hands of the lord de Vezins, his most cruel enemy, saved himself, with the viscount de Gourdon, and about eighty horse, and came to Montauban. He found this city under such a consternation, and so little in a condition to defend itself against the troops of Montluc †, who were approaching, that, having ventured to advise the inhabitants to hold out, he himself had like to have been delivered up to Montluc; which obliging him to leave Montauban precipitately, his little troop fell in with a squadron of 450 horse, belong-

rin, governor of Auvergne: he positively refused to obey, unless the king was present in person. Tanneguy le Veneur, governor of Normandy, an honest humane man; he did all that lay in his power to preserve the protestants at Rouen, but he was not master of it. Viscount d'Ortez, governor of all that frontier. See his answer to the king. "Sire, I have communicated your majesty's orders to "your faithful inhabitants, and to the troops in the garrison; I "found there good citizens, and brave soldiers, but not one execu-"tioner." &c. De Thou, book lii. and liii. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. &c.

* Here is an error in the Memoirs of Sully: it was Vezins himself, a man of great honesty, but of harsh manners, that saved the life of Renier, whose enemy he had a long time been, and still continued to be, nothwithstanding this action. See this remarkable history in M. de Thou, book lii.

† Blaise de Montluc, marechal of France.

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ing to the army of Montluc; and, being desirous of dying nobly, performed such wonderful acts of valour, that they were all cut in pieces. Renier returned to Montauban with this good news; he was now obeyed, and they shut the gates upon Montluc. This resistance, and the resolution of Montauban spreading about, thirty towns followed its example, and behaving in a manner the protestants had not dared to hope for, obliged the catholics to keep themselves upon the defensive.

THE catholics immediately turned all their forces against Rochelle and Sancerre, which, taking advantage of the general fear, they had invested. These enterprizes did not succeed: Sancerre, after having suffered all the horrors of a famine, of which no history can furnish us with examples, at last concluded a sort of treaty with the besiegers; but Rochelle held out, and baffled all the duke of Anjou's efforts †, who had in person come to besiege it. The election for the throne of Poland happened very opportunely to save the honour of this prince; and by a treaty, in which Nîmes and Montauban were comprehended, Rochelle preserved all its privileges: and these were the only cities which kept entire all the advantages of the last edicts.

TIME also produced other favourable conjunctures for the calvinists. The queen-mother, of all her children, felt only a true affection for the duke of Anjou. The departure of this prince for Poland gave her as much grief as it occasioned joy to his two brothers, king Charles and the duke of Alen-

† The marechal de Montluc, in his Commentaries, finds great fault with the conduct of this siege, that they did not send troops enough, carried on the assaults improperly, hazarded too much, and suffered victuals to be brought into the place by sea; however, he says, it would have been taken at last. He advised the queen-mother, from the time she went to Bayonne, to take possession of this city: it would have saved France both men and money had this advice been followed. See a relation of the sieges of Rochelle, and Sancere, in d'Aubigné, vol. II. book i. La Popeliniere, book xxxiij. and Matthieu, vol. I. p. 340. and other historians.

çon; the laſt of whom, by his brother's removal, becoming duke of Anjou, began to entertain great hopes of the crown of France, when he reflected that Charles had no children, and that his weak ſtate of health was changed into a mortal diſeaſe. The oppoſition he thought there was reaſon to apprehend the queen-mother would give to his deſign, wholly alienated his affections from her. This princeſs, by beſtowing her confidence on a ſmall number of foreigners of mean birth, who governed her finances, had made the greateſt part of the nobility almoſt as diſcontented as the duke of Alençon: He privately fomented this revolt, and perſuaded them to apply to the proteſtants for aſſiſtance, in whoſe diſgrace they partook. To ward off this blow, and at once to gratify the duke of Anjou, and her tenderneſs for the king of Poland, ſhe began from that moment to think in earneſt of marrying the firſt of theſe princes to the queen of England, and of procuring for him the ſovereignty of the Low Countries: but his diſcontent had already produced its effect.

CHARLES, through another motive, joined in his brother's reſentment againſt the queen their mother. The diſeaſe with which he found himſelf attacked, began at Vitry, whither he had accompanied the king of Poland, in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to have the pleaſure of ſeeing him leave his kingdom. The condition to which he ſoon ſaw himſelf reduced, gave birth to a thouſand ſuſpicions againſt Catherine in his mind; ſo that, uniting his intereſt with that of the proteſtants, he began to ſhew them a great deal of favour. This principally appeared in his permitting them, notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by the queen-mother, to ſend deputies to court, to declare their grievances, and propoſe their demands. Theſe deputies meeting with others, who came from the catholic provinces, who had been prevailed upon by the diſcontented lords

lords to demand the suppression of certain new taxes, and a diminution during ten years of the old, they joined each other. The memorial indeed which contained their demands was signed only by four or five gntlemen, but the terms in which it was conceived, shewed the most immovable steadiness in a party that seemed to derive new strength even from its losses. The queen-mother was violently enraged at it; but the king not suffering her to exert any authority upon this occasion, all she could do was to make use of delays till the death of this prince, which she foresaw was not far distant. The protestants penetrated into her designs; and, that they might not be prevented, appeared suddenly in arms. This was called the rebellion of Shrove Tuesday, because they possessed themselves of several towns on that day *. Montgomery † returned from England to Normandy, where he fortified himself. The queen-mother, and the whole court, was then at St. Germain-en-Laye. She was resolved, at least, to take such measures, that the princes should not escape; but the attempts that were every day made to get them out of her power, did not a little embarrass her. Guitry ‡ and Buhy came one day to St. Germain to carry them away by force; the alarm was very great, but the conspirators not having sufficiently secured the success of their design, Catherine had time to fly with the princes to Paris; where she beheaded Coconnas § and la Mole, the contrivers of the plot, and impri-

* Fontenay, Lusignan, Melle, Pons, Tonnay-Charente, Talmont, Rochefort, Oriol, Livron, Orange, and other places in Poitou, Languedoc, Dauphiny, &c.

† Gabriel, count of Montgomery, the same that wounded Henry II.

‡ John de Chaumont, marquis of Quitry or Guitry: Peter de Mornay, lord of Buhy, brother of Du-Plessis-Mornay. See an account of this enterprize in the life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, book i. p. 26.

§ Joseph Boniface de-la-Mole; Hanibal, count of Coconnas; a Piedmontese. "La Mole and Coconnas were beloved by two great "princesses, [the queen of Navarre and the dutchess of Nevers] love "and jealousy brought them both to destruction." Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 75.

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soned the marechals de Montmorency and de Cossé. She afterwards placed guards about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou, and sent soldiers to Amiens to arrest the prince of Condé, who was there strictly watched, and bring him to Paris. The prince was informed of it, and disguising himself, deluded his spies, and the third time happily escaped to Germany; where, upon his arrival, he was declared generalissimo of the protestant troops in France.

THE queen-mother took a resolution to send all her forces against the huguenots immediately. They were divided into three armies: Matignon ‖ led the first into Normandy, where Montgomery, having only two or three * inconsiderable forts in his possession, was soon defeated, and obliged to deliver himself up to this marechal, who carried him to Paris, where he was beheaded. The second, commanded by the duke de Montpensier †, went to invest Fontenay, and afterwards Lusignan, which he took, notwithstanding the bravery with which the viscount de Rohan defended it. The prince ‡ Dauphin, who commanded the third, took likewise some small places

‖ James de Matignon, marechal of France: he died in the year 1597. This nobleman, for his great qualities, deserves all the praises that M. de Thou has given him, particularly for his inviolable attachment to the person of his king; a virtue in those times very uncommon. De Thou, book lxvi.

* These were Carentan, Valogne, Saint Lo, and Domfront. In this last he was taken fighting like a man in despair. D'Aubigné, who was himself a zealous protestant, cannot certainly be suspected of partiality upon this question relating to the promise given to the count by the marechal. "The place, says he, was taken, and life "was promised to all but the count, to whom artful assurances were "given, that he should not be delivered into any other hands than "the king's. This I am convinced of, notwithstanding the con-"trary has been written. France is guilty of but too many per-"juries, there is no occasion to invent any to charge her with," &c. vol. II. book ii, chap. vii. Montgomery submitted to his fate like a hero. De Thou, Brantome, &c.

† Francis of Bourbon. This branch of Montpensier descended from a Lewis of Bourbon, second son of John II. of Bourbon.

‡ Francis of Bourbon, son to the duke of Montpensier, bore this title. Memoirs of Brantome, vol. III. p. 301.

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in Dauphiny; but having sat down before Livron, shamefully raised the siege. All was suspended on account of the king's death, which happened this year on Pentecost day. This prince died at the castle of Vincennes, in the most exquisite torments, and bathed in his own blood. The cruel massacre on St. Bartholomew's day was always in his mind; and he continued to the last, by his tears and agonies, to shew the grief and remorse he felt for it §. The cardinal of Lorrain ‖ died also on the 23d of December, this year, in the pope's territories; a day made remarkable by the most terrible storm that ever was known.

THE king of Poland was informed of his brother's death in thirteen days, and the night after the news was brought him, he stole out of the court and fled. In his journey he visited the emperor Maximilian, and Charles duke of Savoy, and took his route thro' Venice *. In all these places, they gave him advice

§ He sent for the king of Navarre, in whom only he acknowledged to have found faith and honour, and most affectionately recommended to him his wife and daughter. Perefixe. A little before he expired he said, he was glad he had left no children, who would have been too young to govern the state in such difficult times. Montluc, De Thou, and almost all the historians agree in saying, that if he had lived he would have been a very great prince. He possessed, and in a great degree, courage, prudence, eloquence, œconomy, and sobriety: he loved polite literature and learned men; but he was choleric and a great swearer. He was but twenty-five years of age when he died. Many contusions were found in his body. De Thou, However, there were no proofs found of his being poisoned, as the author of the Legend of Claude duke of Guise says he was. His death proceeded from violent exercises, to which he was very much addicted, and a great quantity of bile, that often made his eyes look quite yellow. His stature was tall, but he was not strait, his shoulders were bent, his legs thin and weak, his complexion pale, his eyes ghastly, and his countenance fierce. See F. Matthieu, vol. I. book vi. and the life of this prince written in Latin by Papire Masson.

‖ Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, archbishop of Rheims. See his character in the third book of Brantome's Memoirs. He died, says he, at Avignon by poison, if we may give credit to the Legend of St. Nicaise, p. 138, and most piously, according to Matthieu, who wrote his eulogium, vol. I. book vii. p. 407.

* The reader may consult Matthieu, vol. I. upon the departure of Henry III. of Poland, and the particulars of his journey.

equal'

equally wise and conformable to his interests, which was, to grant the protestants peace, and the free exercise of their religion; but, instead of complying with it, he immediately upon his arrival in France broke the truce that had been granted to them for three months, and changed it, at the solicitations of the queen-mother, into a declaration of war against the whole party; to which a great number of catholics had lately joined themselves, out of affection to the marechal de Damville †, who had been distinguished by the imprisonment of his brother.

The king went in person to lay siege a second time to Livron, which he was likewise obliged to raise; and brought nothing away with him, but the shame of finding himself insulted from the top of the walls by the women, and even children, and hearing the most satirical and cutting reflections on the queen his mother. From this time he always appeared so different from what he had been when duke of Anjou, that it may be said with reason, his shameful flight to Avignon was at once the æra of his ignominy, his kingdom's misfortunes, and his own. In his journey to Rheims, whither he went immediately after to be consecrated, he conceived a passion for one of the daughters of the count de Vaudemont ‡, and married her.

It was fortunate for him, that the duke of Anjou was all this time closely confined; but after Henry's coronation, this prince, who again quitted his title to take that of Monsieur, enjoyed, as well as the king of Navarre, a little more liberty, which was increased or lessened according to the reports that were brought of their correspondence with the ene-

† Henry de Montmorency, duke of Damville, second son of the constable Anne de Montmorency.

‡ Louisa of Lorrain, daughter of Nicolas, duke of Mercœur, count of Vaudemont, and Margeret of Egmont, his first wife. Matthieu gives this princess great praises for her virtue and affection to her husband. Vol. II. book iii. p. 438.

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mies of the queen-mother §. One of Catherine's other cares was to disunite these two princes; which she effected, by promising each of them separately the post of lieutenant-general of the French armies, and by making use of such means as seldom fail to succeed, intrigues of gallantry, and competitions in love. Notwithstanding all her arts, Monsieur escaped at last: he deceived his guards, and fled in disguise on the evening of the 17th of September. He no sooner gained Dreux, than he saw himself attended by a numerous court, and at the head of a powerful party.

THE prince of Condé had laboured so effectually in Germany, that prince Casimir was soon in a condition to enter France with a strong army.

CATHERINE had now recourse to other stratagems; she endeavoured to regain Monsieur by the most specious offers, and pursued him from city to city, always attended by a train of young and beautiful ladies, on whom she relied still more. In a word ‖, she succeeded so well, that he fell at last into the snare she laid for him.

THE king of Navarre, who had given credit to her promise of making him lieutenant-general, thought himself now secure of it, and rejoiced at first that he had got rid of Monsieur, whom he always looked upon as his rival; but the ladies de Carnavelet and de Sauves drew him out of his mistake. They made him comprehend, that if one of them could pretend to this great employment, it would be

§ Henry III. hated Monsieur, on account of his having, as he supposed, attempted to poison him. He endeavoured to persuade the king of Navarre to kill this prince, but was refused with horror. Henry III. being ill with a disorder in his ear, the king of Navarre one day said to the duke of Guise, whom he loved, "Our man is "very ill." The duke answered the first time, "It will be nothing." The second, "We must think of it." And the third he said to him, "I understand you, Sir;" and striking the hilt of his sword, "This, "added he, is at your service." Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 418.

‖ They conferred together at Champigny-sur-Vade, a house belonging to the duke of Montpensier, upon the confines of Touraine.

Monsieur,

Monsieur, of whose reconciliation it would be made the price; but that in reality Catherine deceived them both, and that he in particular had nothing to expect but a more rigorous captivity. This opened the prince's eyes, and he now wholly applied himself to the recovery of his liberty. The means were offered him one day in the month of February, when he was hunting near Senlis *: his guards being dispersed, he instantly passed the Seine at Poissy, gained Chateau-Neuf in Timerais, which belonged to him, where he took up some money of his farmers, and, followed only by thirty horse, arrived at Alençon, which the lord de Hertray had seized in his name. There he had a conference with Monsieur and the prince of Condé, and they agreed to unite all their forces. From Alençon the king of Navarre went to Tours; where he no sooner arrived, than he publicly resumed the exercise of the protestant religion. I was one of those who accompanied this prince in his flight, and during his whole journey. He sent me from Tours with Fervaques †, to demand the princess his sister of the court. She was delivered to us, and the second day after, she also resuming her religion, heard sermon in the calvinist church at Chateaudun, and joined the king, who waited for her at Parthenay.

The three princes, after uniting their troops, found themselves at the head of fifty thousand effective men ‡, and made even Catherine tremble. A bloody war was now expected. I threw myself into the infantry, in the character of a volunteer, till an employment more suitable was given me. I made my first essay in arms in the neighbourhood of

* See an account of this in d'Aubigné, vol. II. chap. xviii. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 420, &c.

† William de Hautemer, count of Grancey, lord of Fervaques, &c. marechal of France, and lieutenant-general in Normandy. He died in the year 1613, aged seventy-five years. Madame Catherine of Bourbon, afterwards duchess of Bar.

‡ According to others 30,000 only.

Tours,

Tours, where ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between detachments from the different parties. The king of Navarre hearing that my behaviour had more of raſhneſs than courage in it, ordered me to be called, and ſaid to me, "Roſny, it is not here that I would "have you hazard your life; I admire your valour, "but I deſire you ſhould employ it on a better oc-"caſion." This occaſion was not ſo near as we believed, for Catherine finding herſelf deficient in ſtrength, had recourſe to her uſual artifices. She talked of peace; ſhe offered more than we thought we could demand; promiſes coſt this artful princeſs nothing. In a word, ſhe had addreſs enough to make the princes lay down their arms, and peace was concluded upon, and ſigned three months after. This was called Monſieur's peace §, for, beſides that Catherine's principal view in making it was to gain this prince, he was ſo much the dupe of her artifices, that at laſt he wiſhed for it, and ſolicited it more warmly than any other perſon. It muſt be confeſſed, it was a very advantageous one; however, the princes never committed a fault more irreparable than when they ſigned it.

To this Monſieur added a ſecond error as conſiderable againſt his own intereſt; he ſeparated from the proteſtants ‖, and by that means loſt opportunities both in France and England, of becoming one of the moſt powerful princes perhaps in Europe. Thus all things fell out agreeable to the queen-mo-

§ By the edict of ſixty-three articles, paſſed at the convent of Beaulieu near Loches in Touraine between the queen-mother and the princes, the memory of the admiral de Coligny and the other proteſtant chiefs was reſtored, chambers of juſtice, compoſed equally of proteſtants and catholics, were granted in the principal parliaments, and ſeveral cities given for ſecurity. Monſieur procured alſo a large appennage for himſelf, and a conſiderable ſum in money and jewels for prince Caſimir. De Thou, d'Aubigné, &c.

‖ In reality Monſieur, on this occaſion, ſacrificed the king of Navarre and the huguenots to his intereſts, or his politics. In the memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 90. and following, may be ſeen all the ſteps taken by each party on occaſion of this treaty.

ther's wishes, who, in making this peace, had nothing in view but the disunion of her enemies.

HENRY, upon the conclusion of the peace, retired to Rochelle, where the inhabitants, except that they offered him no canopy, paid him all the honours they could have done to the king. The catholics in this prince's train did not meet with so favourable a reception. Caumont, afterwards duke of Epernon *, was not suffered to enter the city, nor any other whom they could prove had embrued his sword in the bloody slaughter of the 24th of August.

THE king of Navarre staid but a short time in this city. As soon as he demanded the accomplishment of the treaty, he became sensible of the great fault he had committed: the queen-mother denied she had promised any thing to the protestants, who were obliged to take up arms again before the expiration of the year.

I NOW quitted my first post; M. de Lavardin †, my kinsman, who had a great affection for me, presented me with a pair of colours in the company he commanded. I was appointed to defend Périgueux, and afterwards Villeneuve, in Agenois, which was threatened with a siege. The king of Navarre had a design to undertake some considerable enterprizes, but the opportunity for them was lost: the greatest part of the troops upon which he relied, disappointed him, and the rest were in so bad a condition, that it was with difficulty he made two attempts, the one upon Réole, the other on St. Macary; in the last of which he failed. Favas ‡, who conducted that of Réole, put me at the head of fifty soldiers, who entered it with very little danger. I demanded a like commission of Langoiran, to whom the assault

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon. He will be mentioned hereafter.

† John de Beaumanoir de Lavardin or Lavardin, marechal of France.

‡ John Favas, called captain Favas.

of St. Macary was entrusted; he granted it, and joined my cousin Bethune with me: but Favas retained us in the second troop. This I mention as an instance of the first good fortune I met with in war, for the inhabitants of St. Macary, having had notice of our design, received us so well, that not a man of the first troop, who had courage to enter, ever returned.

At the siege of Ville-Franche, in Périgord, which was afterwards carried on by Lavardin, I was exposed to a danger more considerable. During the assault, having mounted the walls with my colours, I was overthrown by the pikes and halberts into the ditch, where I lay sunk in the mud, and so entangled with my colours, that had it not been for the assistance of la Trape, my valet de chambre, and some soldiers, who helped me to get up, I must infallibly have perished. The city being forced while they were parlying on the walls, it was given up to pillage. I gained a purse of a thousand crowns in gold for my share, which an old man, who was pursued by five or six soldiers, gave me to save his life. The name of Ville-Franche recalls to my memory a very singular adventure that happened some time after. The inhabitants of this town having formed the design of seizing upon Montpazier §, another little neighbouring town, by surprize, they chose for the execution of it the very same night which the citizens of Montpazier had, without knowing any thing of the matter, pitched upon to make themselves masters of Ville-Franche. Chance ordered it so, that the parties taking different ways, did not meet; all was executed with so much the less difficulty, as the walls of both towns were wholly without defence. They pillaged, they glutted themselves with booty, each thought himself happy till day appeared, and discovered the mistake. They then came to a composition, every thing was

§ A town in Périgord, upon the confines of Quercy.

restored to its right owner, and they returned to their respective habitations. Such was the manner of making war in those times; it consisted of seizing by artifice the towns and castles of the enemy, though often those attempts produced very bloody engagements.

It must be confessed, however, that the king of Navarre was very indifferently served: his army was almost equally composed of protestants and catholics, and he often said, that his obligations were greatest to the last, for they served him disinterestedly, and through pure attachment to his person: but it was this medley of catholics and protestants that ruined his affairs. Messieurs de Turenne, de Montgomery, de Guitry, de Lésignan ‡, de Favas, de Pardaillan, and other principal protestants, had an invincible aversion to messieurs de Lavardin, de Miossens *, de Grammont, de Duras, de Saint Colombe, de Roquelaure, de Bogole, de Podins, and other catholic officers. This appeared, amongst other occasions, in an affair where I was concerned: an officer named Frontenac §, having treated me contemptuously on account of my youth, added, that the milk was not out of my nose. I replied, that I found myself strong enough to draw blood from his with my sword. This quarrel made a noise; and what was very extraordinary, though my antagonist was a catholic, and myself a protestant, yet the viscount de Turenne ‖ promised him his assistance, and that of his protestant friends against me; which M. de Lavardin being informed of, he and his catholics offered their services to me. The viscount's hatred to me proceeded from my having taken Langoiran's part (to whom I was obliged) in a quarrel he had with that nobleman. M. de

‡ Lewis de Lésignan, of St. Gelais.
* Henry d'Albret, baron of Miossens.
§ Antony de Buade de Frontenac.
‖ Henry de la Tour, viscount de Turenne, afterwards duke of Bouillon.

Turenne

Turenne expected, that wherever he and Langoiran were together, the latter ſhould receive orders from him as his general. Langoiran, who thought his birth equal to Turenne's, made a jeſt of his pretenſions; and adding ſome ſtrokes of raillery, ſpoke of Turenne as a bigot, who came over to the reformed, only becauſe Buſſy * had ſupplanted him in Monſieur's favour. When the quarrel was compoſed, I was adviſed to ſeek the friendſhip of Turenne. I complied, but he anſwered my firſt advances ſo ill, that I drew back, and we continued at a greater diſtance than ever.

THIS animoſity between the parties gave riſe to an oppoſition in the king of Navarre's councils, which blaſted many of his deſigns, and in particular that upon Marmande †. Lavardin having attacked it, contrary to the advice of la Nouë, and even of the king of Navarre himſelf, he cauſed ſeveral bodies, of a hundred arquebuſiers each, to advance, with orders to poſſeſs themſelves of the hollows and other advantageous parts near the walls of this city. The command of one of theſe bodies was given to me; and ſcarce had I poſted myſelf at about two hundred paces diſtant from the city, when I was attacked by a detachment of the beſieged three times ſuperior to mine in number: I entrenched my men, and being favoured by ſome houſes, we defended ourſelves a long time. The king of Navarre, who ſaw the danger to which we were expoſed, ran to us, covered only with a cuiraſs, fought the whole day, and gave us time to ſeize the deſtined poſts; but they were of little uſe to us, as we had not men enough to ſurround the city on all ſides; and the king of Navarre would have had the mortification of not being able to approach it, and of being under a neceſſity of ſhamefully raiſing the

* Lewis de Clermont de Buſſy d'Amboiſe, celebrated for his valour and perſonal accompliſhments. In an aſſignation he had ſome time after with the lady de Montforeau, he was killed by her huſband and his domeſtics.

† In Agenois, upon the Garonne.

siege, had not the arrival of the marechal de Biron, with proposals for an accommodation, furnished him with an honourable pretence for withdrawing his troops.

A TRUCE only could be agreed upon, during which the king of Navarre went to Bearn, to visit the princess his sister, or rather the young Tignonville *, with whom he was in love. I was permitted to accompany him; and giving back my ensign's commission to M. de Lavardin, who bestowed it upon young Bethune, my cousin, I quitted my equipage of war, and took one more suitable to the character I was now to appear in. My œconomy during three or four years, joined to my military profits, made my finances so considerable, that I saw myself now in a condition to entertain several gentlemen in my pay, with whom I attached myself solely to the person of the king. As I had no inclination to descend from this station, I regulated my domestic affairs in such a manner, that the king of Navarre, who was always attentive to the conduct of his officers, confessed to me afterwards, that I owed the greatest part of that esteem with which he honoured me, to the prudent œconomy he observed in this disposition of my affairs. It was my youth only that made this conduct appear extraordinary, for I began early to be sensible of what advantage it is to preserve an exact regularity in domestic concerns. Such a propensity, in my opinion, is a very happy presage, either for a soldier or a statesman.

DURING our stay at Bearn, nothing was thought of but diversions and gallantry. The taste which Madame, the king's sister, had for amusements, proved an inexhaustible source of them to us. Of this princess I learned the trade of a courtier, which I

* This young lady was daughter to madam de Tignonville, governess to madame the king of Navarre's sister, who in the court of Navarre was generally called mademoiselle Navarre. Mademoiselle Tignonville was afterwards married to the baron of Pangeas.

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was yet unacquainted with. She had the goodness to make me one in all her parties; and I remember, she would teach me herself the steps of a dance in a ballet that was performed with the greatest magnificence.

The truce was now almost expired, and the king of Navarre, who had been informed that the city Eause*, excited by the mutineers, had refused to give entrance to a garrison he sent thither, ordered us to come, with our arms concealed under our hunting-habits, to a certain part of the country, where he himself waited for us. He arrived at the gates of this city before they could be advertised of his march, and entered it, without meeting with any resistance, at the head of fifteen or sixteen of his men, who had followed him closer than the rest of the troop. As soon as the mutineers perceived this, they called out to have the draw-bridge instantly let down; which was accordingly done, and fell almost upon the buttocks of my horse and Bethune's, so that we were separated from the body, which remained without the city. The rebels at the same time rung the alarm-bell, and arming hastily, a band of fifty soldiers came thundering upon us: among these we distinguished three or four voices, which cried, "Fire upon that "scarlet cloak, and white plume, for it is the king "of Navarre." "My friends, my companions," said this prince, turning towards us, "it is here "that you must shew courage and resolution, for "our safety depends upon what we now act; fol-"low me then, and do as I do, without firing your "pistols." As he ended these words, he marched fiercely up to the mutineers with his pistol in his hand: they could not sustain the shock, and were soon dispersed; three or four small bodies of men presented themselves afterwards, and these also we drove before us; but the enemies drawing together, to the number of two hundred, and our forces being

* A city of Armagnac.

greatly diminiſhed, the danger became inevitable. The king retired to the gate, which facilitated his defence, and there he kept firm. He had the preſence of mind to order two of us to climb up upon the belfrey, and make a ſign to our companions, who continued in the field, to advance and force the gate. This they performed with the more eaſe, as very fortunately the bridge had not been drawn up.

Those of the citizens who were well affected to the king, but had been forced by the ſeditious into their meaſures, perceiving the ſoldiers upon the point of entering the city, attacked the rebels behind. Theſe laſt defended themſelves till the gate being forced, the city was filled with our troops. All would have been put to the ſword, and even the city abandoned to pillage, had not the principal inhabitants, with their conſuls at their head, thrown themſelves at the king's feet, and implored his pardon. He granted it, and contented himſelf with puniſhing only thoſe four perſons who had fired upon the white plume.

The king of Navarre leaving * Bethune governor in Eauſe, advanced haſtily towards Mirande †, upon advice, that St. Criq, a catholic gentleman of his party, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the city; but not having men enough to keep it, had been obliged to throw himſelf, with his troops, into the tower, where he was beſieged, and hard preſſed by the citizens and garriſon of the place. Notwithſtanding the king marched with all poſſible diligence, he could not prevent the unhappy fate of this officer, who had juſt been taken, and burnt with all his men, when Henry appeared before the walls of Mirande. The inhabitants, who thought to draw him into their power, artfully concealed what had happened, and made the trumpets ſound, as if St. Criq was rejoicing for the aſſiſtance they brought him; when a hugue-

* See all theſe little military expeditions in d'Aubigné, book ii.
† A city in the county of Armagnac.

not

not ſoldier in the city, perceiving the danger into which the king of Navarre was going to precipitate himſelf, together with all his men, who muſt infallibly have periſhed, through the great ſuperiority of the enemies numbers, came over the wall, to inform him of the ſnare that was laid for him. The king now thought of nothing but retreating; but as he was very far advanced, the inhabitants of Mirande ſoon perceived that their deſign was prevented, and ſallying out, attacked him in his retreat. Myſelf and young Bethune having engaged too far amidſt the enemy, were ſurrounded on all ſides: deſpair added to our ſtrength, and we fought like men who were reſolved to ſell their lives dear; but we ſhould certainly have been overpowered, extreme wearineſs making it hardly poſſible for us to uſe our arms any longer, when happily for us Léſignan, and the elder Bethune, whom the king of Navarre had ſent to our aſſiſtance, charged the enemy ſo fiercely, that they gave back, and afforded us the means of retreating. The ſieur d'Yvetot, a gentleman of Normandy, and la Trape, my valet de chambre, did me great ſervice upon this occaſion.

THE king of Navarre, ſeeing night approach, gave orders to ceaſe fighting, and retired to Jegun; where two or three days after, the royal troops, with the marechal de Villars at their head, appeared in arms, drawn thither by the report of the attempt upon Mirande. It would have been raſhneſs to attempt them, therefore we kept firmly intrenched, and ſought only to engage them to force us; but this they durſt not attempt. The two armies continued in view of each other till night: a combat of ſix againſt ſix was propoſed by Lavardin and la Devêſe; but we not being able to agree amongſt ourſelves about the choice of combatants, the king and the marquis de Villars both drew off their reſpective troops the beginning of the night.

SOME time after the king of Navarre going from

Leictoure to Montauban, commanded the count de Meilles * and me, with five and twenty horse, to fall upon a body of musqueteers, which the inhabitants of Beaumont † had posted in the vineyards and hollow places in our passage. We engaged, and drove them almost to the city gates, from whence about an hundred soldiers came out to their assistance; part of these we left dead upon the place, and the rest were drowned in the ditches. The king, who saw the rampart begin to be crouded with soldiers, did not think proper to pursue this advantage, and continued his route.

At his return, he endeavoured to avoid passing under the walls of this city, and took a lower road, by a place, which, if I remember right, was called St. Nicholas ‡, near Mas de Verdun. Scarce had we marched a league, when we heard the beating of drums, and discovered a party of three hundred musqueteers, marching in very indifferent order, under five ensigns. A council was immediately held; some were of opinion that we should attack the enemy, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers; others disapproved this. The king of Navarre, who wanted only to try them, ordered fifty horse to advance, and in the mean time we drew up in a line, with our domestics behind us, and presented a front to the enemy, which concealed the smallness of our numbers. The shining of our armour contributed to deceive them: they fled across the woods, whither we pursued them; till meeting with a church, they entered it, and barricaded themselves within.

This church was very large, strong, and well furnished with provisions, being the accustomed retreat of the peasants; a great number of them were then shut up in it. The king of Navarre undertook to

* Frederick de Foix de Candalle.

† Beaumont of Lomagne in Armagnac.

‡ St. Nicolas de la Grave. Mas de Verdun, or Mas Garnier, a city of Armagnac.

force

force it, and sent to Montauban, Leictoure, and other neighbouring towns, for workmen and soldiers for that purpose; not doubting but Beaumont, Mirande, and other towns of the catholic party, would send powerful succours to the besieged, if they were not prevented. In the mean time we endeavoured, with the assistance of our servants, to undermine the church. The choir was allotted to me; and in the space of twelve hours I made an opening in it, tho' the wall was of a great thickness, and built of a very hard stone: afterwards by means of a scaffold raised over this gap, I threw a great quantity of grenadoes into the body of the church. The besieged had no water, and were obliged to temper their meal with wine; and what incommoded them still more, they had neither surgeons, linen, nor salves for the wounds that were given them by the grenadoes. A powerful reinforcement being sent from Montauban to the king of Navarre, they capitulated, and this prince contented himself with only ordering seven or eight of the most mutinous to be hanged; but he was obliged to abandon them all to the fury of the inhabitants of Montauban, who forced them out of our hand, and butchered them without mercy. We learned the cause of that rage which animated them against these wretches, in the reproaches they made them, of having carried away six women, whom, after they had ravished, they put to death, by filling them with gunpowder, and setting fire to it. A horrid excess of the most savage cruelty!

The states, which were then held at Blois, named the archbishop of Vienne *, and the duke of Mont-

* The three deputies whom the states sent to the king of Navarre, were Peter de Villars, archbishop of Vienne, for the clergy; Andrew of Bourbon, lord of Rubenpré, for the nobility; and Menager, general of the finances of Touraine, for the third state. Here therefore is a fault in these Memoirs: consult de Thou, d'Aubigné, &c. See also an account of the session of the states of Blois, in Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. p. 438, and in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. p. 166, and following.

penſier and Richelieu, for deputies to the king of Navarre. This prince ſent Bethune and me as far as Bergerac, to receive them. They were commiſſioned to exhort the king of Navarre, to embrace the catholic religion, which the ſtates had declared ſhould be maintained throughout the kingdom. This interview, which had produced a ſuſpenſion of arms, having had no other effect, the deputies returned, and hoſtilities began again.

Some attempts were made upon Caſtel Jaloux † and Nerac, by the admiral de Villars ‡; but the king of Navarre was preſent every where, and diſconcerted all his deſigns. He expoſed himſelf to equal dangers with the meaneſt ſoldier, and gave a ſtriking proof of the greatneſs of his courage at Nerac ‖; when being ſurrounded by a body of horſe, detached on purpoſe to ſurpriſe him, he repulſed them almoſt by his ſingle valour. It was not in our power, by the moſt earneſt intreaties, to make him take more care of his life; and his example animating us in our turn, twelve or fifteen of us were bold enough to advance within piſtol-ſhot of the whole catholic army. The king of Navarre, who obſerved us, ſaid to Bethune, "Go to your couſin, the baron of "Roſny; he is raſh and heedleſs to the laſt degree; "bring him and his companions off; for the enemy "ſeeing us retire, will no doubt charge us ſo fierce-"ly, that they will be all either taken or killed." I obeyed this order, and the prince perceiving my horſe wounded in the ſhoulder, reproached me for my temerity, in a manner, however, wholly obliging. He propoſed this day a combat of four againſt four; but it did not take place, the admiral having given the ſignal for retreating.

† Caſtel Jaloux, or Caſtel Geloux, near Auch.

‡ Honorat of Savoy, marquis of Villars. Although he was made admiral by the king during the admiral de Coligny's life, he did not in reality exerciſe that employment till after the death of that nobleman.

‖ In Guyenne, the capital of the duchy of Albret.

It

It was of the last importance to the king of Navarre to hinder the taking of Brouage *, then besieged by the duke † of Maïenne. Accordingly he hastened thither, leaving the viscount of Turenne to bring his troops after him; but beside that this nobleman did not arrive soon enough to succour the city, the interview between the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé at Pons ‡ so exasperated them against each other, that the prince of Condé wanted to fight with the viscount de Turenne, whom he accused of being the author of their misunderstanding, and soon after openly separated from the king of Navarre.

The peace which succeeded accidents so unfavourable to the reformed, was the sole work of Henry III. who was desirous of giving this mortification to the Guises. War was no longer agreeable, either to his inclinations, which led him to a strange kind of life, divided between devotion and sensuality §, nor to his designs, that tended only to the crushing of the princes of Lorrain, now grown too powerful by the league. But although this peace ‖ was less advantageous to the huguenots than that of Monsieur, yet they observed the articles of it with more fidelity than the catholics; who while it still

* A city and port in Saintonge.

† Charles de Lorraine, duke of Maïenne, second son of Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise. He was general of the league.

‡ In Saintonge.

§ There is nothing, said Sixtus V. to cardinal de Joyeuse, which your king has not done, and does, to be a monk; nor nothing which I have not done to avoid being one. He had no less than a hundred and fifty valets de chambre, *ministros cubicularios*, says Busbeq, Ep. 31.

‖ By the treaty that was concluded at Bergerac, between the king of Navarre and the marechal de Biron, and the edict that followed in the latter end of September, the number of churches was diminished, the exercise of the pretended reformed religion was prohibited ten leagues round Paris, the burying-places of the calvinists in this city taken away, the liberty of marriage revoked, the chambers of justice composed of half catholics and half protestants suppressed in Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, &c. King Henry III. called this his treaty. Neither party observed it faithfully: the catholics complained that several articles were infringed by the calvinists. Memoirs of Nevers.

subsisted,

subsisted, possessed themselves of Agen, Villeneuve *, for which it was impossible to make them give satisfaction. The consequence of a peace so very ill observed, was an inactivity full of distrust; which rather resembled a long suspension of arms, than a real peace. In this manner passed the remainder of this year, and part of the following.

WHETHER it was, that the queen-mother was desirous of labouring effectually to compose the troubles of the state, or that she had secret designs, which obliged her to gain, if possible, the king of Navarre, she quitted Paris with all her court, and making the tour of the provinces, had a conference with this prince at Réole and Auch. She even staid with him a long while, at different times, either at Nerac †, Coutras, Fleix ‡, or other places; for the year 1578, and part of 1579, were wholly consumed in journies from one place to another, and reciprocal complaints of the bad execution of treaties, which indeed both parties did not scruple to infringe.

THE mixture of two courts equally remarkable for gallantry, produced such an effect as might have been expected. Nothing was seen but balls, festivals, and polite entertainments: but while love became the serious business of the courtiers, Catherine was wholly absorbed in politics: for once, however, she did not succeed. She, indeed, reconciled the king of Navarre to his wife, then greatly disgusted with the proceedings of her brother Henry III. towards her; but she could never draw this prince again to Paris, nor prevail upon him to resign to her those places of security, to obtain which had been her principal view.

* Villeneuve in Agenois, upon the Lot.

† At Nerac, says le Grain, the queen-mother had several conferences with the king of Navarre, her son-in-law, in which some articles were explained, but not all; for the good lady would always keep her Spanish gennet by the bridle as much as she was able. It was here that Henry IV. fell in love with the two ladies, d'Agelle and Tosseuse.

‡ Felix in Perigord.

I SHOULD

I SHOULD swell these Memoirs too much, were I to enter into a detail of this medley of politics and gallantry; and, to confess the truth, my youth and other affairs, more suitable to my inclinations, did not permit me to engage in the first; as for gallantry, besides that I have lost the remembrance of it, a trifling detail of intrigues would, in my opinion, make a very indifferent figure here. 'Tis sufficient to say, that all was reduced to a desire of pleasing, and supplanting each other: I shall not however, omit some adventures relating to the war.

THE queen-mother and the king of Navarre could only agree upon a truce, which was to be in force over the whole kingdom, till the prince and she separated: but whether she thought war would afford her a more favourable opportunity of seizing several towns by surprize and artifice, or that this method was more likely to accomplish her views, she was not sorry that both parties seemed to forget they were in peace, and treated each other as enemies. It was now resolved, that there should only be a truce where the court was, and not to extend beyond a league and a half, or two leagues, from the place where the queen and the princes resided. This gave rise to a contrast altogether new: here they loaded each other with civilities, and conversed with the greatest familiarity; there they fought with the utmost fury and animosity. The two courts being at Auch, upon a ball night, news was brought to the king of Navarre, that the governor of Réole, who was an old man, and a zealous protestant, having conceived a violent passion for one of the queen-mother's maids of honour, had been prevailed upon to violate his duty, and deliver up the town to the catholics. The king of Navarre, who would not long defer his revenge, privately ordered me, and three or four others, to withdraw, and with our arms, concealed under our hunting-habits, join him in the fields. We got together as many of our people as we could;

and

and taking care that the entertainment ſhould ſuffer no interruption, left the hall, and joined the king, with whom we marched all night; and arriving early in the morning at Fleurence, the gates of which were open, ſeized it without oppoſition. The queen-mother, who could have ſworn that the king of Navarre had lain at Auch, was greatly ſurprized next morning with the news of this expedition; however, ſhe was the firſt to laugh at it: "I ſee, "ſaid ſhe, this is in revenge for Réole: the king of "Navarre was reſolved to have nut for nut, but "mine has the better kernel."

An adventure of the ſame kind happened a ſhort time after. When the court was at Coutras, the king of Navarre having reſolved to ſeize * St. Emilion, he ſent us over-night to St. Foi †, which was not comprehended in the truce, from whence we marched to St. Emilion, with a petard, which we faſtened by two port-holes to a great tower. The burſting of this machine made a noiſe that was heard even at Coutras. A breach was made in the tower wide enough to admit two men a-breaſt, and by this means the town was taken. The queen-mother was enraged, and ſaid openly, that ſhe looked upon this action as a premeditated inſult, St. Emilion being within the bounds of the truce. 'Tis certain, that the diſtance between Coutras and this town was ſuch as rendered the caſe a little doubtful; but the king of Navarre, who knew that a few days before, the citizens of St. Emilion had pillaged a proteſtant merchant, which the queen-mother maintained to be a lawful prize, juſtified what he had done by this fact, and all was paſſed over.

It often happened, that the two courts ſeparated from each other, when any thing fell out to give either of them diſguſt; but the deſire of pleaſure, which languiſhed while they were divided, ſoon brought them together again. The queen-mother's court was car-

* In Guienne near Libourne. † Upon the Dordogne in Agenois.

ried

ried by the king of Navarre to Foix; where, among other diversions, he was resolved to give them that of bear-hunting. The ladies were frighted; this entertainment did not suit with their delicacy. Some of these animals tore the horses to pieces; others overthrew ten Swiss, and as many fusileers; and one of them, who had been wounded in several places, mounting upon a rock, threw himself down headlong, with seven or eight hunters whom he held fast in his paws, and crushed them to pieces.

At last the queen-mother left the king of Navarre, and continued her route through Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny, where she had an interview with the duke of Savoy, and returned to Paris, leaving all things in the same state in which she found them; that is, in a peace which only increased the doubts and suspicions of each party: however, she did not forget to seduce part of the king of Navarre's catholic officers; among whom were Lavardin, Grammont *, and Duras. Another effect of her presence was, to embroil so perfectly the prince with the viscount of Turenne, that he challenged him to a single duel. Turenne went indeed to the place of combat, but it was only to make those submissions which he owed to the high quality of his antagonist. This duel produced nothing fatal, but the viscount received several wounds in a second, to which he was challenged by Duras and Rosan †. It was said at

* Philibert de Grammont. John de Durfort.

† The two brothers, Durfort de Duras, and Durfort de Rosan, fought with the viscount de Turenne, and John de Gontaut de Biron, baron of Salignac, his second. Although the brothers were armed with coats of mail, yet the disadvantage was wholly on their side. The viscount permitted Rosan to rise, and Salignac allowed Duras to change his sword; at the same moment nine or ten armed men fell upon the viscount, and left him upon the place pierced with two and twenty wounds, none of which, however, proved mortal. He recovered, and generously intreated the queen-mother to pardon Duras. The marechal de Damville, called by the death of his brother, marechal de Montmorency, coming thither about that time, was consulted on this action; and it was his opinion, as well as that of many others, that the viscount de Turenne was at liberty to satisfy his revenge by any

that time, that the advantage they had over Turenne, upon this occasion, was owing to an artifice scarcely allowable.

After the queen-mother's departure, the court of Navarre went to Montauban, and from thence to Nerac, where they continued some time, uncertain whether it would not be proper to renew the war. This court being no less voluptuous than that of France, nothing was thought of but pleasures and gallantry.

The news of the catholics having taken the city of Figeac* by surprize, and holding the castle besieged, determined them to take arms immediately. The king of Navarre sent the viscount Turenne to raise the siege; who at parting said to me, "Well, "Sir, will you be of our party?" "Yes Sir, I "replied, I shall be always of your party, provided "it is for the service of the king my master, and "yours at all times, when you favour me with "your friendship."

The catholics, surprized at our diligence, abandoned Figeac; and the war being now begun by the huguenots, they made above forty attempts on different places, of which three only succeeded †. These were Fère in Picardy, Montagu in Poitou, and Cahors. At this last I was present, for which reason, as well as that of all the towns attacked by petard and undermining, this was the most remarkable, I shall give some account of it.

Cahors is a large and populous city, surrounded

any means whatever, without exposing his own life. Memoirs of the duke de Bouillon. His life by Marsolier. De Thou. Brantome in the tenth volume of his Memoirs, speaking of duels, seems to doubt whether this duel was conducted in the manner it was reported, considering the reputation the two brothers were in for courage and honour.

* A city of Querey, upon the confines of Auvergne.

† See all these expeditions particularly related in d'Aubigné, vol. II. book iv.

on three sides by water ‡. Vesins ‖, who was governor of it, had above two thousand men, besides a hundred horse, under his command; and he obliged the citizens also to take arms. He kept himself upon his guard like a man who expected to be attacked; which we discovered by a paper found in his cabinet, on which he had wrote these few words with his own hand, "A fig for the huguenots." The king of Navarre, whose little army was weakened by the absence of Chouppes, and who saw no means of opening himself a passage but by petard and undermining, did not, however, despair of taking the city. He reinforced his troops with all the soldiers he could find in Montauban, Négrepelisse, St. Antonin, Cajare, and Senevieres §; but the whole did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men, with whom he left Montauban, and arrived about midnight within a quarter of a league of Cahors. It was in the month of June, the weather extremely hot, with violent thunder, but no rain. He ordered us to halt in a plantation of walnut trees, where a fountain of running-water afforded us some refreshment. Here he settled the order of his march, and of the whole attack. Two petardeers belonging to the viscount Gourdon *, the chief contriver of this enterpirze, followed by ten of the bravest soldiers in the king's guards, marched before us, to open a passage into the city. They were sustained by twenty others, and thirty horse of the king's guards likewise, under the conduct of St. Martin †, their captain; forty gentlemen, commanded by Roquelaure ‡, and sixty soldiers of the guard composed

‡ The river of Lot washes its walls.

‖ The same who is mentioned in the beginning of this book. It is thought, that if he had not been slain in the attack, at the head of his people, the king of Navarre would not have made himself master of the place.

§ Towns in Quercy.

* —de Terride, viscount of Gourdon.

† Charles le Clerc de St. Martin. He was slain there.

‡ Antony de Roquelaure.

another

another body, in which I was, and marched afterwards. The king of Navarre, at the head of two hundred men, divided into four bands, came next; the remainder of his little army, which made a body of about one thousand or twelve hundred arquebusiers, in six platoons, closed the march.

We had three gates to force; these we made haste to throw down with the petard, after which we made use of hatchets. The breaches were so low, that the first who entered were obliged to creep through upon their hands and feet. At the noise of the petard, forty men armed, and about two hundred arquebusiers, ran almost naked to dispute our entry; mean time the bells rung the alarm, to warn every body to stand to their defence. In a moment the houses were covered with soldiers, who threw large pieces of wood, tiles, and stones upon us, with repeated cries of "Charge, kill them." We soon found, that they were resolved to receive us boldly; it was necessary, therefore, at first, to sustain an encounter, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, and was very terrible. I was cast to the ground by a large stone that was thrown out of a window; but by the assistance of the sieur de la Bertichere, and la Trape, my valet de chambre, I recovered, and resumed my post. All this time we advanced very little, for fresh platoons immediately succeeded those that fled before us; so that before we gained the great square, we had endured more than twelve battles. My cuisses being loosened, I was wounded in the left thigh. At last we got to the square, which we found barricaded, and with infinite labour we demolished those works, being all the time exposed to the continual discharge of the artillery, which the enemy had formed into a battery.

The king of Navarre continued at the head of his troops during all these attacks; he had two pikes broke,

broke, and his armour was battered in ſeveral places by the fire and blows of the enemy. We had already performed enough to have gained a great victory; but ſo much remained to do, that the battle ſeemed only to be juſt begun; the city being of large extent, and filled with ſo great a number of ſoldiers, that we in compariſon of them were but a handful. At every croſs-way we had a new combat to ſuſtain, and every ſtone houſe we were obliged to ſtorm; each inch of ground was ſo well defended, that the king of Navarre had occaſion for all his men, and we had not a moment's leiſure to take breath.

It is hardly credible that we could endure this violent exerciſe for five whole days and nights; during which time, not one of us durſt quit his poſt for a ſingle moment, take any nouriſhment, but with his arms in his hand; or ſleep, except for a few moments leaning againſt the ſhops. Fatigue, faintneſs, the weight of our arms, and the exceſſive heat, joined to the pain of our wounds, deprived us of the little remainder of our ſtrength; our feet ſcorched with heat, and bleeding in many places, gave us agonies impoſſible to be expreſſed.

The citizens, who ſuffered none of theſe inconveniencies, and who became every minute more ſenſible of the ſmallneſs of our numbers, far from ſurrendering, thought of nothing but protracting the fight till the arrival of ſome ſuccours, which they ſaid were very near: they ſent forth great cries, and animated each other by our obſtinacy. Though their defence was weak, yet they did enough to oblige us to keep upon our guard, which completed our misfortunes. In this extremity, the principal officers went to the king, and adviſed him to aſſemble as many men as he could about his perſon, and open himſelf a retreat. They redoubled their inſtances at the report which was ſpread, and which they found to be true, that the ſuccours expected by the enemy were arrived at the bar, and would be ſo

ſoon

soon in the city, that he would have but just time to force the wall, and secure himself a passage. But this brave prince, whose courage nothing was ever able to suppress, turning towards them with a smiling countenance, and air so intrepid, as might have inspired courage into the most pusillanimous heart: "'Tis heaven, said he, which dictates what I "ought to do upon this occasion; remember then, "that my retreat out of this city, without having "secured one also to my party, shall be the retreat "of my soul from my body. My honour requires "this of me; speak therefore to me of nothing but "fighting, conquest, or death."

ANIMATED by these words, and the example of so brave a leader, we began to make new efforts; but in all probability, we should at last have been wholly defeated, but for the arrival of Chouppes ||, whom the king had the precaution to send for before the attack: he, having understood the danger Henry was in, opened himself a passage into the city, with five or six hundred foot, and a hundred horse, trampling over the enemy as he passed, who gathered in crouds to obstruct his way. As soon as he joined us, we marched together to the bar, where the enemies succours were endeavouring to enter. All this quarter we forced, and when we had made ourselves masters of the parapets and towers, it was not difficult to oblige the enemies without to abandon their enterprize and retreat; after which, the inhabitants finding themselves no longer able to resist, laid down their arms, and the city was given up to plunder. My good fortune threw a small iron chest in my way, in which I found about four thousand crowns. In the relation of an action so hot, so long, and so glorious for the young § prince that

|| Peter de Chouppes.

§ Other historians agree, that this attack lasted five whole days, and that Henry IV. had a great many soldiers wounded there, and only seventy slain. M. de Thou's relation of this action is a little different, but our Memoirs deserve most credit.

con-

conducted it, I am obliged to suppress many circumstances, and many particular exploits, performed by the king and his officers, which would have the appearance of being fabulous.

THE king of Navarre having left Cabrieres * governor in Cahors, returned to Montauban. He defeated likewise two or three squadrons belonging to the marechal de Biron's army, who was under a necessity of shutting himself up in Marmande. The king, for the greater convenience of taking this city, came to Tonneins †; which produced a great many little attacks, the marechal de Biron's soldiers making inroads every day into the enemy's country. Henry one day ordered Lésignan, at the head of five and twenty gentlemen well mounted, of which number I was one, to advance even to the gates of Marmande, as if to defy them: which was often done. We were followed by a hundred foot, who lay down on the shore of a rivulet not far from us; and the king, with three hundred horse, and two companies of his guards, concealed himself in a wood at a small distance. Our orders were to fire our pistols only, and to endeavour to take any of the soldiers whom we should find without the walls, and retire towards the little body of foot when they began to pursue us. Accordingly, as soon as we saw ourselves ready to be attacked by a hundred horse, who came out of the city, we marched off, though they insultingly called out to us to stay. An officer of our troop, named Quasy, hearing himself defied by name, could not restrain his indignation, but turned his horse's bridle, and shot his challenger dead: he lost his horse, however, and regained his brigade on foot. Upon seeing him attacked by the enemy's party, who were enraged at the death of their comrade, we marched immediately to his assistance: and now so fierce a combat ensued, that

* Consult d'Aubigné upon these expeditions, vol. II. book iv.
† In Agenois upon the Garonne.

one

one of our valets, ſeized with terror, fled, and carried the alarm to the king of Navarre; telling him, that we, and the whole party of foot were put to the ſword. This he ſaid without the leaſt foundation; for the enemy, on the contrary, ſeeing the body of foot, who came out of their ambuſcade to ſecond us, fearing ſome ſtratagem, and ſuppoſing that the whole army would fall upon them, retreated precipitately into the city.

It was with great difficulty that they could reſtrain the ardent Henry from ruſhing upon the enemy's army to revenge us, and periſhing glorioſly; but they made him ſuch preſſing inſtances to retire, that he conſented to it at laſt, though with infinite regret. His aſtoniſhment was extremely great when he ſaw us, and his grief ſtill greater for having yielded to counſellors too timid; eſpecially when he ſaw Léſignan, who complained bitterly that he had been abandoned upon this occaſion. As for me, I loſt an horſe in the action, which was killed under me.

The king of Navarre's diſcontent was greatly increaſed by the bad news that was brought him. The prince of Condé, not ſatisfied with having corrupted ſome of his troops, and openly ſeparating from his party, had drawn ſeveral towns of Dauphiny and Languedoc into his intereſt, and took them from Henry to compoſe a ſovereignty for himſelf. Aigueſmortes and Pecais ‡, he had engaged to prince Caſimir as ſecurities for the forces this prince had promiſed: and very lately, he had poſſeſſed himſelf of Fere ‖ in Picardy; the loſs of which ſenſibly affected the king of Navarre. His army, already much inferior to that of the catholics, he was now obliged to diſmember, and ſent Turenne againſt the prince of

‡ Towns in Languedoc.

‖ It was re-taken immediately by the marechal de Matignon. In the Memoirs of the league there is a letter from queen Catherine to the prince of Condé, in which ſhe thanks him for having taken arms against the court.

Condé,

Condé, who soon disconcerted all his projects: as for himself, being no longer able to keep the field before the marechal Biron, he shut himself up in Nerac; in which the ladies and court of Navarre then were, and as brilliant as ever, notwithstanding the bad condition of the king's affairs.

THIS retreat gave a new face to the war; it could neither be called a campaign nor a siege, but it was both together. Biron, judging the siege of this place to be an enterprize for which he had not sufficient strength, sought only to keep us in continual alarm, by surrounding it with all his troops; and the king of Navarre, though blocked up in the city, did not however fail to shew himself often in the field. The gates of the city were kept shut by his orders, his cavalry therefore was of no use to him; and our only resource was to assemble in small parties, and sally out by the private doors, to attack the separate detachments of the royal army, and somtimes we would advance to the very front of the whole army. I resumed my former condition of a private soldier, and mixing with the officers, performed many of those rash actions, in which there is neither fame nor advantage to be gained; and were likewise severely condemned by the king of Navarre. When he was informed one day that I was wounded and taken by a party of the enemy, notwithstanding his anger, he sent Des-Champs and Dominge to rescue me if possible; and at my return calling me rash and presumptuous, he expresly forbid me ever to leave the city without his orders. I confess, I but too justly merited these reproofs; for it is great folly and extravagance to precipitate one's self into inevitable dangers, from whence nothing less than a miracle can extricate one. The marechal de Biron made shew of besieging Nerac; but all ended in a few slight skirmishes, which the ladies beheld from behind the ramparts. The enemy's general had so little respect for them, that he ordered five or six

 discharges

discharges of cannon * to be made, though he expected no advantage from it.

THE king of Navarre did not, however, neglect to make himself master of Monségur †. Milon, one of his captains, enclosed five hundred weight of powder in a saucisse, which he found means to introduce into a common shore, which ran into a ditch between the two principal gates; the end of the saucisse, to which the fire was to be applied, was concealed amongst the grass. When every thing was ready for the playing off this machine, the king permitted us to go and see the effect, which indeed was wonderful. One of the two gates was thrown into the midst of the city, and the other fifty paces forwards into the field. The vaults were all ruined, and a breach being made in the wall, wide enough to admit three men a-breast, the city was taken. The enemy seeming determined to recover it, the king commanded me to shut myself up in it with forty gentlemen. We applied ourselves to the fortifying the place well with palisades and intrenchments, in the place of those the powder had destroyed; and this we performed without interruption, notwithstanding we were all afflicted with a kind of epidemical distemper ‡, and myself more than any other. At length we put the place into such a condition, that we had nothing to apprehend from the enemy; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who by the caresses with which he loaded me on this occasion, was desirous of teaching me to make a just distinction between military exploits that are authorized by duty, and those which a rash and misguided courage suggests.

* Some cannon were discharged against a gate of the city, behind which was the queen of Navarre. At the peace, she procured the government of Guienne to be taken from this marechal.

‡ In the country of Foix.

† This distemper seized them in the reins, the head, and particular y in the neck. Bleeding and purging were mortal in it. De Thou observes also, that this disease was the fore-runner of a plague that carried off forty thousand people in Paris. Book lxxiii.

IT

It was with pleasure that I saw this prince's favour towards me increase every day, and to find that he gave to inclination what he believed he had granted only to his mother's recommendation; who, when dying, pressed him to take care of my fortune. Some slight services I did him this year, he rewarded by the post of counsellor of Navarre, and chamberlain in ordinary, with a pension of two thousand livres, which at that time was thought very considerable. I was then but nineteen years of age, and the fire of youth drew me into a fault which had like to have made me lose for ever the favour of this prince.

I was at supper one night with Beauvais, the son of the king of Navarre's governor, and an officer named Usseau, who happening to quarrel, resolved to fight, and intreated me to provide them with the means. Instead of immediately acquainting the king of Navarre with their design, that prince being very solicitous to prevent these sort of combats, which a false sense of honour made very frequent at that time, I was imprudent enough to promise to comply; and after having in vain endeavoured to reconcile them, conducted them myself to the meadow where they fought, and each received a very dangerous wound. The king of Navarre, who loved Beauvais, was extremely offended with me for the part I had acted in this affair. He ordered me to be sent for, and told me in a rage, that I insulted the authority of the sovereign, even in his own court, and that, were strict justice to be done on me, I should lose my head. Instead of repairing my fault by an ingenuous confession of it, I added another still greater: Piqued at this prince's threatening, I answered haughtily, That I was neither his subject nor vassal; and threatened him, in my turn, with quitting his service. The king discovered no other resentment for this insolence, than a contemptuous silence. I went out of his

presence, with an intention to leave this good prince, and perhaps for ever, had not the princesses undertaken to make my peace with the king, who listening only to the dictates of his friendship for me, contented himself with punishing me no otherwise for my fault, than by treating me, during some time, with great coldness: at length, when he was convinced of the sincerity of my repentance, he resumed his former sentiments. This instance of his goodness made me know in what manner so worthy a prince ought to be served. I attached myself to him more strongly than before, resolving, from that moment, never to have any other master: but I saw myself removed from him for some time, by an imprudent promise which I had made to the duke of Alençon.

BOOK II.

THE queen-mother, whose fertile imagination was ever producing schemes for the grandeur of her house *, and still more employed for her own particular designs, having no longer any hope of marrying her youngest son to the queen of England, turned all her views upon Flanders, of which she undertook to make him sovereign. She had at first made several ineffectual attempts upon the Dutch; who, thinking they should appease the resentment of Spain † by chusing a master out of the house of Austria, decreed that honour to the arch-

* M. de Thou, treating of this subject, says, book xcvi. that before the crown of Poland was offered to the duke of Anjou, Catherine, who was resolved to make him a sovereign one way or other, had sent Francis de Noailles to Selim, then grand seignior, to ask the kingdom of Algiers for this prince; Sardinia was to be added to it, which had been obtained from Spain, in exchange for the kingdom of Navarre, which they had promised him the possession of; and as an equivalent for the claim the king of Navarre had to this kingdom, other estates in France were to be given him.

† The revolt of the United Provinces from Spain, an account of which will be seen in the following part of these Memoirs, began by an

duke Matthias, notwithstanding the powerful intrigues of Catherine. The archduke was a weak prince, absolutely destitute of the qualities necessary for a sovereign; upon this occasion especially, where valour was so necessary, he behaved in such a manner, as to inspire the nobility with the utmost contempt for him; and by preferring the prince of Orange ‡ openly to all the other lords, and declaring him lieutenant-general of his forces, rendered himself completely hateful to them. The Dutch, disgusted with this new master, thought of nothing but freeing themselves from his power, and cast their eyes upon Monsieur, brother to the king of France: whom they considered as a prince capable of defending them in his own person, and procuring them the powerful protection of his country.

He was at Coutras when the deputies from the United Provinces came to make him this offer: he accepted it joyfully, and deferred his journey to the Low Countries no longer than till he could appear there with a train suitable to the dignity of his birth. For this purpose, he earnestly solicited the most distinguished amongst the lords and gentlemen of the king of Navarre's party to follow him. The greatest part of the catholics attached themselves to him, and the hopes of a solid and lasting peace, with which the queen-mother took care to amuse the protestants, was the cause that many of those also promised to attend him.

Fervaques and Rochepot §, two of my kinsmen, engaged themselves in his party; and, to prevail upon me to follow their example, represented to me, that after the loss I had lately suffered by the death of my father, I should take care to recover

an insurrection, and a confederacy formed in the year 1566, the design of which was to hinder the establishment of the inquisition in those countries. Manuscripts in the king's library, marked 9981.

‡ William of Nassau, prince of Orange.

§ Antony de Silly, lord of Rochepot.

the ſucceſſion to the viſcount de Gand's ‖ eſtate, who had diſinherited me on account of my religion, and endeavour to get poſſeſſion of ſeveral other eſtates in Flanders, to which my family was entitled, and which only the protection of a new ſovereign could procure me. To theſe reaſons they added, in the name of Monſieur, a promiſe of twelve thouſand crowns, to furniſh me with an equipage. I yielded to their ſolicitations, and gave my word to go with them. Our expedition was protracted a conſiderable time, on account of ſeveral different affairs; at length all obſtacles * being removed, and the Dutch repeating their intreaties, Monſieur reminding us of our engagement, ſent us orders to join him. When I went to take leave of the king of Navarre, I had a long converſation with him on my departure, and the occaſion of it; which I have never reflected on ſince without the deepeſt gratitude for that generous affection he diſcovered for me, nor without admiration of his penetrating wit, and the juſtneſs of his conjectures. When I mentioned leaving him, "'Tis by this ſtroke, ſaid he, that "we ſhall loſe you; all is over, you will become "a Dutchman and a papiſt." I aſſured him that I would be neither; but that I ſhould have cauſe to reproach myſelf eternally, if by neglecting to cultivate the favour of my relations, and for the ſake of avoiding a little trouble, I ſhould ſee myſelf deprived of thoſe large eſtates that might revert to me from

‖ Hugh de Melun, viſcount de Gand, grandfather by the mother's ſide to M. de Sully.

* By the peace concluded at Fleix, a caſtle upon the Dordogne, between the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou. The proteſtants, to whom the laſt war had not been very favourable, conſented to it without any difficulty. The duke of Anjou deſired it with great ardour, in order to proſecute his deſigns upon the Low Countries; it was ſigned in the month of November. The articles were not made known, but were believed to be of little importance. The cities given for ſecurity, were to be kept by the calviniſts ſix years longer.

the houſes of Bethune, Melun, and Horn †. I added, that it was this conſideration alone which induced me to join Monſieur, and that only for a little time, after which nothing ſhould be able to prevent my following my inclinations, which were to attach myſelf ſolely to him; and that whenever he had the ſmalleſt occaſion for my ſervice, I ſhould leave Flanders at his firſt order. The king then entertained me with the predictions that had been made him, that he ſhould one day be king of France; and I, in my turn, informed him, that a great fortune had been foretold me. An early prepoſſeſſion in favour of theſe pretended prophecies had made me weak enough to give credit to them; but as for the king of Navarre, who was of opinion that religion ought to inſpire a contempt for thoſe evil prophets, as he called them, he had within his own mind an oracle more certain, which was a perfect knowledge of the perſon and character of Monſieur, and a ſagacity that opened almoſt futurity to him. "He will "deceive me, ſaid he, if he ever fulfils the expecta-"tions that are conceived of him: he has ſo little "courage, a heart ſo malignant and deceitful, a "body ſo ill made, ſo few graces in his converſa-"tion, ſuch want of dexterity in every kind of ex-"erciſe, that I cannot perſuade myſelf he will ever "perform any thing that is great." The king of Navarre had leiſure to ſtudy this prince thoroughly, during the time that they were kept priſoners together. His memory at this inſtant furniſhed him with an infinite number of particulars, that gave him room to believe, Monſieur would infallibly fail in an enterprize ſo noble and hazardous as that he had undertaken. Amongſt others he told me, that Monſieur flung himſelf againſt a pillar in running at the ring, and managed his horſe with ſo little ſkill, that he would have been thrown to the ground, had not

† Anne de Melun, the author's mother, was the daughter of Hugo, viſcount of Gand, and of Jane d'Horn.

his equery with great haste and subtilty cut the reins of his horse, and spared him the shame of so awkward a fall. That he succeeded no better in dancing, hunting, or any other exercise; and far from feeling a just consciousness of these natural defects, or of repairing them in some degree by an ingenuous modesty, he secretly hated all who were more favoured by nature than himself; particularly the king of Navarre, who, on account of the preference the ladies gave him to Monsieur, tho' the brother of their king, and his having rivalled this prince in the favour of madam de Sauves *, and other court-quarrels of the same nature, became the object of his jealousy and hate.

These little anecdotes with which he entertained me, tho' inconsiderable in themselves, yet ceased to appear so, when the event fully justified the conclusions he drew from them. He concluded with telling me, that he plainly perceived Catherine had formed a design to exterminate the protestant party; and that he should soon have occasion for his faithful servants: then embracing me, he wished me a happier journey than our leader's was likely to be. I threw myself at his feet, and kissing his hand, protested that I would ever be ready to shed the last drop of my blood in his service. I quitted his presence,

* ------ de Beaune of Samblancay, married to Simon de Fizes, baron of Sauves, counsellor, and first secretary of state, who died November the 27th, 1579. She made this name well known by her gallantries. Her second husband was the marquis of Noirmoutier. "One night, says Matthieu the historian, when the duke of "Alençon was with her, the king of Navarre laid a snare for him, "so that as he came out, he fell against something in his way, and "hurt one of his eyes. The next day the king of Navarre meeting "him, exclaimed, Heavens! what is the matter with your eye? "what accident has happened to it? The duke answered rudely, It "is nothing, a small matter surprises you. The other continuing to "bemoan him, the duke being offended, advanced, and feigning to "jest, whispered in his ear, Whoever shall say I have got it where "you imagine, I will make him a liar. Souvray and Du Guast hin-"dered them from fighting." Vol. I. book vii. page 409.

to

to go and pay my respects to the queens; after which I took post for Rosny.

FROM hence I sent Maignan, my equery, to Paris, to buy me some horses. I have never since had any that equalled two which he brought me. One of them was a Spanish horse; he was quite black, except a white spot on his right buttock. The other was a Sardinian horse, to whom nature had given an instructive quality of defending his rider; for he would roll his eyes furiously, and spring upon the enemy with his mouth open, never quitting him till he had thrown him to the earth.

PART of the lands belonging to Monsieur extending to the neighbourhood of Rosny, I took occasion from thence to draw some advantage from his offer, and asked for the remainder of a wood, to be applied to my use; which was granted; and it produced me the sum of forty thousand franks. With this money, in fifteen days, I fitted out my whole troop, which was composed of eighty gentlemen; some of whom followed me disinterestedly, and others received only two hundred livres at most. With this train I went to join Monsieur, who waited for us in his castle of La-Fere, in Tartanois; from whence, after some time spent in deer-hunting, we marched to Saint Quentin, where all his troops were assembled.

THE Prince of Parma * surrounded Cambray with his whole army, and kept it blocked up. This afforded an occasion for the bravest amongst us to signalize themselves, and each one was desirous of commanding the first party that should be sent to reconnoitre. This honour fell to me, by the disposition into which Fervaques ||, the quarter-master general, who was my relation and friend, had put the army: it procured me, however, no advantage, for I returned without having taken one prisoner, the besiegers keeping all close behind their lines, although I pas-

* Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma.

|| William de Hautersier de Fervaques.

ſed near enough to ſuſtain ſeveral diſcharges. The viſcount Turenne ſecretly rejoiced at my diſappointment, becauſe I had refuſed the offer he made to join me, if I would wait till the next day. He choſe out one hundred gentlemen, with whom he advanced towards Cambray, flattering himſelf that he ſhould perform no inconſiderable exploit. The event did not anſwer his expectations; this fine troop had the misfortune to be defeated by fourſcore or an hundred men belonging to the regiment of M. de Roubais *, of the houſe of Melun, who ſerved in the enemy's army. Ten or twelve of our party were made priſoners, amongſt whom were Ventadour ‡, and the viſcount Turenne himſelf.

MEAN time Monſieur advanced, with an intention to give battle to the enemy's general; but he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that we durſt not attempt to force him, and the following night he raiſed the blockade, and retired towards Valenciennes, without the loſs of one ſoldier, leaving the paſs alſo ſo ſecurely guarded, that he was under no apprehenſion of being overtaken. Monſieur now entered Cambray, and was received with great magnificence by the governor, whoſe name was d'Inchy. Chateau Cambreſis refuſing to ſurrender, was taken by aſſault. Monſieur, willing at firſt to diſcover a gentleneſs that might conciliate the people's affections towards him, forbid, upon pain of ſevere puniſhments, any violence againſt the women, who are generally the miſerable victims of war; but fearing that theſe or-

* Robert de Melun, marquis of Roubais. The viſcount Turenne's deſign was to throw himſelf into Cambray. See his Memoirs, page 311, and following. It is obſerved there, that he choſe rather to be priſoner to the prince de Robecque, general of the Spaniſh cavalry, than to the king of Spain: which was the cauſe that he was detained two years and ten months; for Spain feared, that after Robecque had received the money for the viſcount's ranſom, which was fifty-three thouſand crowns, he would quit its ſervice.

‡ Anne de Levis, afterwards duke of Ventadour, knight of the king's orders, governor of Limoſin, and lieutenant-general in Languedoc. He died in 1622.

ders

ders would not be sufficient to restrain the soldiers' brutality, any more than the plague with which the fort was infected, he gave them the churches for asylums, and placed guards about them. A very beautiful young girl threw herself into my arms as I was walking in the streets, and holding me fast, conjured me to guard her from some soldiers, who, she said, concealed themselves as soon as they saw me. I endeavoured to calm her fears, and offered to conduct her to the next church; but she told me she had been there, and asked for admittance, which they refused, because they knew she had the plague. My blood froze in my veins at this declaration, and anger renewing my strength, I thrust this girl from my arms, who exposed me to death, to save her, when she carried, in my opinion, her security about her; and flying away as fast as I was able, expected every moment to be seized with the plague.

MONSIEUR having attacked the passages of Arleux, and l'Ecluse, I took some prisoners there, whom I sent back without ransom, as soon as I was imformed that they belonged to the marquis de Roubais, my cousin. Roubais, who was not ignorant of my just pretensions to the estates of the viscount de Gand, which he had usurped, received this generosity very ill. "By heaven, said he, these civilities are very "fine; but if he is taken, he brings his ransom "along with him." I had reason to be apprehensive of this misfortune, and it would actually have happened to me two days after, at the attack of a wall, if Sesseval, by a very seasonable charge, had not extricated me from the danger.

THE prince of Parma having divided his army in the Low Countries, Monsieur returned to Cambray, where he was guilty of an artifice towards d'Inchy, very unworthy of a great prince, whose word ought always to be so inviolable, that no person should have a thought of suspecting his integrity. He had

invited himself to dinner with this governor, who was at an excessive expence to receive him in the citadel, in a manner suitable to his high rank. D'Inchy invited above sixty of us to attend this prince, and treated us all with equal greatness and magnificence. During the repast, he was told that Monsieur's guards presented themselves at the gates; d'Inchy, thinking he should fail in the most essential part of his reception of Monsieur, if he sent them back, gave orders for their admittance, and every one else that came in that prince's name, who, he said, was sole master in the castle. He spoke indeed prophetically, tho' he did not think so at the time; for so many made use of this privilege, that our party became at last the strongest, and Monsieur's guards disarming those of M. d'Inchy, seized upon the castle. This exploit was wholly the contrivance of Monsieur, who relied on that sincerity in the governor, which he himself was not possessed of. As soon as d'Inchy was sensible of his misfortune, he complained bitterly of it to Monsieur, who answered him only with an insulting smile upon the accent of his country, which was Picardy; and obliging him to quit the castle, which he gave to Balagny *, thought he made d'Inchy sufficient amends by the gift of the town and duchy of Chateau-Thierry; but that gentleman, who perceived the difference between what was given him, and what he had been deprived of, resigned himself up to despair, and seeking death found it soon after in a skirmish.

After this Monsieur returned to France, notwithstanding the intreaties of the inhabitants of the Low Countries to the contrary, who assured him, that after five or six fortresses more were taken, the only important ones that remained, all Flanders would submit to him. His design in going to France was to make preparations for his voyage to England,

* John de Montluc, natural son of John de Montluc, bishop of Valence; he is mentioned hereafter.

whither

whither he went a little time after. The reception he met with from queen Elizabeth*, and the engagement he contracted with her, having been mentioned by all the historians, I shall take no notice of them here, though I attended him in this voyage. From England Monsieur again returned to Zealand; flattered with a thousand agreeable hopes. He came to Lillo †, and afterwards to Antwerp, where he was crowned duke of Brabant by the prince of Orange, assisted by the prince Dauphin ‡, and all the nobility of the Low Countries, who expressed their joy on this occasion, a thousand different ways. This affection of the Dutch towards Monsieur had but a short duration. The prince of Orange, who only was more beloved by the people than him, was wounded in his chamber by a pistol shot ‖. The populace, who thought none but the French could be guilty of this action, mutinied, and would have fallen upon them; and Monsieur could find security no where but in the house of the wounded person, whither he fled for refuge. When the true author of this intended assassination § was discovered, there was no sort of excuses or atonements which the burgesses

* It is well known that the queen of England allowed several of the princes of Europe to flatter themselves in this manner with hopes of marrying her; and whether policy, or reasons purely natural, was the cause that she never came to any conclusion, is a question not easy to decide. Monsieur went to England in the winter of 1581, and returned to Flanders the spring following. See an account of this voyage, and of all the negotiations concerning this marriage at length, in the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. page 474, 603.

† A fort upon the Scheld.

‡ Francis of Bourbon, son to the duke of Montpensier.

‖ The 18th of March 1582, by John de Jaureguy. The ball went quite through his jaw. The assassin was taken by the soldiers of the prince of Orange, who rushed in at the noise, just as he was drawing his poignard to dispatch him. Chron. Piasicki.

§ By the papers that were found in his pocket, he was known to be a Spaniard; this it was that appeased the people, who were ready to put all the French to the sword. Mem. d'Aubery du Maurier. The people ran about the street, crying, Behold, this is the marriage of Paris, let us kill these murderers. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. o the end.

did

did not offer to Monſieur for the injuſtice of their ſuſpicions, and the revolt they had occaſioned; but this outrage made a deep impreſſion on his heart, and he reſolved within himſelf to take a ſignal revenge for it. The prince of Orange was not a man that could be eaſily deceived; he began from that moment to be upon his guard; for he perceived the reſentment with which he was fired, and the rooted hatred he bore to proteſtants in general.

As for me, I had already received perſonal proofs of it; which, added to other cauſes of complaint that were given me by Monſieur, abſolutely diſguſted me with his ſervice. At firſt I attached myſelf ſolely to his perſon, and to pleaſe him ſpared neither labour nor expence; I thought therefore that I might ſolicit his intereſt with regard to my pretenſions to the eſtate of the viſcount de Gand, which reverted to me. He received my requeſt very coldly, put me off with delays, and at laſt, when I preſt him one day on the ſubject, he told me very cavalierly, that he could not gratify two perſons at the ſame time; and that my couſin * the prince of Epinoy had obtained, without any trouble, what I had laboured for with ſo much aſſiduity. There was ſomething in this anſwer more diſobliging than the refuſal itſelf; I was ſenſibly affected with it, and a few days after had a convincing proof of the little ſhare myſelf, and the other proteſtant officers had in his favour, when I heard him ſay publicly, that he had juſt baniſhed d'Avantigny from his council, the laſt of the proteſtants to whom he confided his ſecrets, and he was now perfectly eaſy. From that time I reſolved to quit this ungrateful prince; and while I waited for an opportunity to return into France, applied myſelf to gain the favour of the prince of Orange, in whom I found all thoſe qualities in which Monſieur was deficient. I remember, a few days before

* Robert de Melun prince of Epinoy, ſon to the marquis of Richebourg.

the

the treacherous attempt upon Antwerp, that I was at this prince's palace with Sainte Aldegonde †, and a minister named Villiers; when, speaking of Monsieur and the catholics, by whom he was governed, he said, "These men have designs pernicious both "for themselves and us, in which, it is my opinion, "they will not find their account; and I intreat "you, sir, added he, turning to me, not to go far "from my lodgings." He thought very justly; and his diligence finishing what his foresight had begun, Monsieur suffered the double reproach of unsuccessful treachery ‡.

HAVING assembled his army in the plain, under pretence of reviewing it, he went out of Antwerp one day in February, and ordered his soldiers to enter the city again by those gates that were at his disposal, and to make themselves masters of it by force. Accordingly his men threw themselves into Antwerp, as into a city taken by assault, crying out, "Kill, kill, the city is ours; mass for ever." But their triumph lasted not long: the prince of Orange, who carefully observed every step of Monsieur's, gave such good orders every where, or rather caused those he had long before given, to be so well executed, that Monsieur's soldiers were all either repulsed, cut in pieces, or forced to throw themselves off the walls; for their terror was so great, that those who could not get at the gates, because of the great number of carcases that obstructed their way, had recourse to that dreadful expedient. I had mounted my horse two hours after noon, to go and join Monsieur in the field; but before I had got out of the city, the loud shouts of the assailants struck my ears,

† Philip Marnix, lord of Sainte Aldegonde.

‡ About that time the same attempt was made, by Monsieur's orders, on the principal cities of Flanders; the plot succeeded upon Dunkirk, Dixmude, and Dendermonde, but failed upon Bruges, Ostend, Nieuport, &c. De Thou, book lxxvii. The duke of Montpensier, and the marshal Biron endeavoured in vain to dissuade Monsieur from this enterprize. Matthieu, ibid.

and

and in the ſame moment I met the prince of Orange, who deſired me and ſome other French gentlemen of the reformed religion, who were with me, to retire to his lodgings. As Frenchmen we could not expect to be ſafe at that time in the city, and, as huguenots, we had every thing to fear from the French army, who had taken poſſeſſion of it. We followed his advice, therefore, and he returned to us as ſoon as he had reſtored quiet to the city. The care he took to pacify the Dutch, and prevail upon them to forget a behaviour ſo inexcuſable, is a proof that he bore with regret, and only in his own defence, an action which no Frenchman diſapproved of. It was not his fault that the proteſtant party in Flanders was not reconciled to Monſieur; and as for us, as ſoon as he knew we intended to join this prince, he put us into a condition to do it without danger.

We found ourſelves greatly perplexed in the neighbourhood of Mechlin, whoſe inhabitants, by opening their ſluices, had formed a large marſh. Four or five thouſand foot, and as many horſe of Monſieur's army, periſhed there by cold and hunger, in a moſt rigorous ſeaſon. Monſieur, however, ſtaid five or ſix months in Flanders after this fatal enterprize: but his army had been ſo conſiderably leſſened, and the remainder ſo broken with fatigue, the cities ſo well guarded, and, to compleat his misfortunes, the prince of Parma returned with an army ſo vaſtly ſuperior to his, that he was at laſt obliged to go back to France with the duke de Montpenſier, and the marechal de Biron, leaving nothing behind him in the Low Countries but the rememberance of a name juſtly deteſtable.

A prince who has not prudence enough to conceal his hatred of perſons whoſe ſervices become neceſſary to him, muſt be unhappy; but this muſt be owned, to the advantage of virtue, that it ſecures, by the moſt infallible means, the ſucceſs of all great enterprizes. Wiſdom, equity, diſcipline, order, courage, good fortune; qualities which ſucceed each other in the order they are mentioned, form the chain of

of action in truly great men. The proceedings of those who unjustly arrogate to themselves that title, offer, on the contrary, nothing but rashness and obstinacy, the companions of blind ambition. A vain confidence in their talents, presumptuous dependence on their good fortune; all consequences of flattery, which generally enslaves no persons so much, as those false heroes who think themselves born to subject the whole world.

I COULD not resolve to leave Flanders without viewing those places where my ancestors were born; and having procured a passport from the count of Barlaymont *, I went to Bassée, to visit madam de Mastin, my aunt. She received me as a nephew whom she had disinherited, because he neither believed in God nor his saints, and worshipped the devil. This notion father Silvester, a cordelier, a famous preacher, and this lady's director, had thought proper to give her of all protestants; and she took it upon his word. She carried me with her to see an abbey she had founded; and as she was shewing me some fine tombs of my ancestors, which she had caused to be erected there, took occasion to speak to me on the subject of my faith. If I was astonished to hear her utter these extravagant whims that father Silvester had put into her head, she was no less surprized to hear me repeat the creed, and all those prayers which we use in common with the roman catholics. With her reason, nature was also awakened; her great simplicity was the cause of the little tenderness she had shewn me. She embraced me with tears in her eyes, and promised me not only the certain succession to her estates, but also engaged to get those of the viscount de Gand restored to me. This at the time was her sincere intention; but father Silvester, no doubt, found better reasons to prevent the effect of those good designs, for none of them were ever executed.

* Claude de Barlaymont, lord of Hautepenne.

I HAD

I HAD an earneſt deſire to ſee the city of Bethune, the country, and ancient inheritance of my anceſtors, who for a long time were in poſſeſſion of very conſiderable eſtates there. The treachery Monſieur had uſed towards the city of Antwerp, rendered all the other cities of the Low Countries ſuſpicious; they would not ſuffer me to enter Bethune till I had ſhewn my paſſport, declared my name, and convinced them I came from madam de Maſtin; which produced an effect I little expected: I had taken the road to an inn, whoſe ſign was the coronet of the family of Bethune, when I ſaw a platoon of foot approach, that gave me ſome apprehenſions. It was, however, the burgeſſes of the city, who, full of reſpect for the blood of their ancient lords, no ſooner heard my name, than they reſolved to pay me all poſſible honours, and brought me a preſent of wine, and other refections. Before I left this city, I viſited and examined with great exactneſs, and a ſecret pleaſure, all the public and private monuments which preſerved to poſterity the rememberance of the benefits my anceſtors conferred on this city, and its gratitude for them.

HAVING nothing more to detain me in Flanders, I returned to France, and took the direct road to Roſny, which I left immediately, and went to Guyenne, full of joy to meet again the king of Navarre after ſo long an abſence. This prince's reception of me was ſuch as left me no room to doubt that my return was very acceptable to him. He obliged me to relate all my adventures, and thoſe of Monſieur, and when I had finiſhed, "Well, ſaid he to "me, is not this the accompliſhment of all I pre-"dicted of this prince, in my converſation with "you at Coutras; but the viſcount de Turenne, "whom I diſſuaded as much as poſſible from fol-"lowing him, has ſucceeded much worſe than "you."

MONSIEUR'S

MONSIEUR's expedition into the Low Countries had enraged the king of Spain to such a degree, as to make him endeavour to gain the king of Navarre's friendship, and offer him supplies for renewing the war with the royalists of France. This proposition he received at Hagemau, whither he went to visit the countess of Guiche *; for his passion for this lady was then at its height. The distrust Henry always entertained of Spain, and his natural antipathy to that court, prevented his giving any credit to it. I will not take upon me to answer for the sincerity of the Spaniards in these offers, which were made him at different times by Bernardin de Mandoce, the chevalier Moreau, and Calderon; however, I believe there were some intervals, in which the king of Spain dealt faithfully with the king of Navarre †. But be that as it will, the king of Navarre gave no answer to this proposition, and made no other use of it than to convince the king and queen-mother of the justice of his designs. He sent me therefore to Paris, to inform them of the step which Spain had taken.

THERE was no longer any access to be had to the king; he had retired to Vincennes, where he saw none but his favourites, and the ministers of his pleasures. I expected to have been introduced to

* Diana, or Corisande Dandoins, viscountess of Louvigny, &c. wife, and afterwards widow of Philibert count of Grammont. In the observations upon the amours of Alcander the great, this lady is said to have sent Henry IV. three or four and twenty thousand Gascons levied at her own expence. It is also mentioned there, that she had a son named Antony, whom that prince offered to acknowledge for his own; but the young man replied, that he chose rather to be considered as a gentleman, than the bastard of a king. Journal of Henry the third's reign, p. 270.

† That which induced him to believe this, was, that to this letter of the king of Spain's, presented to the king of Navarre by the chevalier Moreau, or the commandeur Morrée, as Davila calls him, book ii. was added an offer of fifty thousand crowns, made by the same chevalier to the viscount de Chaux, on the frontier of Bearn, to maintain the king of Navarre's army; provided he would turn his arms against France. Mem. of the league, Vol. V.

him

him by the queen of Navarre; for this princess, whose temper could not agree with that of the king her husband, had ‡ left him to return to the court of France: but I learnt from madam de Bethune, that she was on no better terms with the queen her mother, and the king her brother. I then had recourse to madam de Sauves, who procured me an audience of Catherine. The affair seemed to her to be important, she mentioned it to the king, and a negotiation was begun there. I even obtained from his majesty a credential letter to the king of Navarre; but what reliance ought one to have on the determinations of a court, that, as it should seem, never formed a good design that was not immediately repented of? The queen-mother thought fit to make no other use of the king of Navarre's confidence, than to enter into a stricter union with Spain: which came to Henry's knowledge by the reproaches the king of Spain made him, for having betrayed his secret.

The bad reception Monsieur met with at his return from Flanders, was one effect of this reconciliation with Spain. This prince retired to Chateau-Thierry, oppressed with grief. After my deputation was finished, being at home, and engaged in no employment, curiosity led me to visit Monsieur at Chateau-Thierry. I imagined his bad fortune would have made him wiser; but it had only abated his pride. He received me with a kindness that I was far from thinking disinterested, and from which I immediately concluded, he had some great designs in his head. The advantageous offers made me in his name by Aurilly, who had procured me the honour of kissing his hand, convinced me I was not

‡ From that time they always lived separate, notwithstanding the reproaches which Henry III. often made the king of Navarre on that occasion, and some others that are mentioned by l'Etoile. One day, when the latter received some very sharp letters from Henry III. "The king, said he, in all his letters, honours me greatly; for by "the first he calls me C---, and by the last the son of P---.

mistaken;

mistaken; but, amidst the great projects § with which Monsieur was intoxicated, I discovered a melancholy and secret discontent that preyed upon his heart, and which nothing could remove. From hence proceeded that languishing disorder, which some time after put an end to all his ambitious designs by death ‖.

At my return to Paris, I received an order from the king of Navarre to come to him upon some very important affairs. He was endeavouring to disconcert, if possible, all the enterprizes of the league; a design, which this wise prince had always in view. He had occasion for a person, on whose probity he could rely, to reside at the court of France, and study all its motions; and it was to charge me with this commission, that he had commanded my attendance. He communicated his reflections to me, gave me all the necessary instructions, and when I took leave of him, embraced me several times, saying, "My friend, remember, that the first quality in a "man of true courage and worth, is to keep his "word inviolably; that which I have given to you, "I will never fail in." There was no necessity for racking my invention, to furnish me with a pretence for this second journey to Paris. The favour in which I had left my two younger brothers * at that court, afforded me a very plausible one. They had

§ Monsieur took the titles of son of France, by the grace of God, duke of Lauthier, of Brabant, Luxembough, Guelderland, Alençon, Anjou, Tourain, Berry, Evreux, and Chateau-Thierry, count of Flanders, of Holland, Zealand, Zulphen, Maine, Perche, Mante, Meulan, and Beaufort, marquis of the holy Roman empire, lord of Friesland, and Mechlin, defender of the Belgic liberty. Hercules was the name that was given him at his baptism, but when he was confirmed, it was changed to Francis.

‖ There is not any historian who doubts that he died by poison. His blood ran through all his pores, as if every vein had been burst. De Thou, book lxxviii. "This happened, says the Memoirs of Ne-"vers, by his having lain with La.... who made him smell a poison-"ed nosegay." Ibid. p. 163. Busbeq. Ep. 33, 35.

* Solomon and Philip de Bethune. The first as eldest, was called baron of Rosny, and was governor of Mante. The second has formed

begun to create jealousy in the favourites, for the king already made them his companions in his parties of devotion, which was a step that was likely to lead them to the greatest familiarity; however, on my arrival, I learned that they were disgraced; the reason of which I did not know till a long time after, and it is of the number of those things * that ought to be buried in oblivion. This accident did not hinder me from entering upon my new employment at Paris, and the court. I gave the king of Navarre exact intelligence of all that passed, that he might take such measures as were most suitable to the state of his affairs.

ENGAGED in this new kind of life, which obliged me by the nature of the employment I had undertaken, to frequent the court, to mix in the politest company of the city, to share in their amusements, their pleasures, and even to be infected with their idleness; and being besides in the prime and strength of my age, it is not strange that I should pay the accustomed tribute to love. I became violently enamoured of the daughter of the president de St. Mesmin, one of the most beautiful ladies in France.

AT first, I wholly abandoned myself to a passion, which, in the beginning, is so delightful, that when I would have stifled it afterwards, upon reflecting that this alliance was not convenient for me, I found that consideration too weak, when opposed to the friendship this whole family expressed for me, the esteem of a father truly respectable, and the charms of a mistress worthy my tenderest affection. My own endeavours alone would not have been sufficient to have broken this chain. La Fond †, to

ed the branch of the counts of Selles and Charost. By attaching themselves to the person and party of the king of France, they both abjured the protestant religion, in which they had been educated.

* Those who are curious to know it, need only consult the seventh chapter of the Confession of Sancy.

† La Fond was his valet de chambre. He is mentioned in another place.

divert

divert the course of my thoughts, proposed to me to visit mademoiselle de Courtenay ‡, whom he earnestly wished I would make my addresses to, as a person who, in all respects, was much more suitable to me. I saw her, and approved this choice; but mademoiselle de St. Mesmin soon destroyed all these wise reflections.

Being one day at Nogent upon the Seine, attended by this la Fond, and some other persons, I went to lodge at an inn, whither chance had conducted both mademoiselle de St. Mesmin, and mademoiselle de Courtenay, which I learnt the moment I entered the inn. This was one of the most delicate conjunctures imaginable, and I judged it would be impossible to leave the place without breaking for ever with that lady of the two, to whom I should neglect to pay my first visit and assiduities. In a case of this nature, no artifice, no address can satisfy two women at the same time.

Mademoiselle de St. Mesmin's youngest sister coming down stairs at that moment, found me absorbed in reflection, like a man that was labouring to reconcile his reason with his love. She perceived it, and my confusion affording her a fine opportunity to display the vivacity of her wit, she endeavoured to draw me to her sister's feet; when la Fond approaching me, whisper'd in my ear, "Turn to the right, "monsieur: there you will find a large estate, a "royal extraction, and equal beauty, when it shall "have attained to the age of perfection." These few words, so seasonably uttered, recalled my scattered reason, and fixed my wavering purpose. I was convinced the advice la Fond gave me was good, and that the only difference between the beauty of mademoiselle de Courtenay and her rival, was, that the one was already in the possession of charms, which a year or two more promised the other. I

‡ Anne de Courtenay, youngest daughter of Francis d'Courtenay, lord of Bontin.

sent

ſent an excuſe for not attending mademoiſelle de St. Meſmin, which drew upon me great reproaches; but I courageouſly ſuſtained the aſſault, and went immediately after to viſit mademoiſelle de Courtenay, who valued this ſacrifice at its full price. She was pleaſed with the preference; and I applauded myſelf for it, when I conſidered my new miſtreſs with more attention, and that a few viſits more had given me a perfect knowledge of her character. My addreſſes were favorably received, and a ſhort time after this adventure, we were married ‖.

THE tenderneſs and aſſiduity due to an amiable bride, detained me in Roſny this whole year, amidſt rural employments, exerciſes, and diverſions; another kind of life not leſs new to me than the former. The country, to thoſe whoſe time has been divided between the court and the field, is generally an occaſion of double expence; but it affords many reſources to a man, who knows that good œconomy ſupplies the place of great riches. My turn for fine horſes, which I had cultivated merely for my pleaſure, did not make up a uſeleſs part of this domeſtic œconomy. I kept jockeys in my ſervice, whom I ſent to buy horſes in foreign countries, where they were cheap, and ſold them in Gaſcony, at the king of Navarre's court, where I never failed to draw large ſums for them. I remember to have ſold, amongſt others, a ſilver roan-horſe to the viſcount de Chartres, for ſix hundred crowns, which coſt me but forty. The tapeſtry that adorns the hall of Sully, in which are delineated the labours of Hercules, came from M. de Nemours de la Garnache, who paid me with that for a fine Spaniſh horſe that I had ſold to him at the rate of twelve hundred crowns.

TOWARDS the end of this year §, a letter from the king of Navarre drew me from a life ſo inactive:

‖ Guy de Bethune, ſon of Alpin de Bethune, great grandfather of M. de Roſny, had married one Frances de Courtenay Bontin.

§ The peace continuing in force till the following year, the Memoirs

he informed me, that the time in which he had foreseen that the assistance of his faithful servants would be necessary, was now come: that the state and our religion were threatened with the severest misfortunes, if immediate endeavours were not used to prevent them; and that he should soon have a cruel war to sustain. I instantly disposed myself to attend this prince, taking with me, as well for his occasions, as my own, forty-eight thousand francs, which I raised by the sale of a wood of high trees, that was cut down for that purpose.

In effect, the bold enterprizes of the league * broke out this year. One cannot reflect without

moirs of this and the preceding contain little concerning the king of Navarre. Le Grain relates the adventure that happened to him with captain Michau, who pretended to have quitted the service of Spain, for that of this prince, in order to find some opportunity of murdering him treacherously. "One day, says he, when the king of Navarre was hunting in the forests of Aillas, he perceived Michau just behind him, well mounted, with a couple of pistols cocked and primed. The king was alone and unattended, it being customary for hunters to separate; and seeing him approach, "Captain Michau, said he to him, with a bold and determined air, dismount; I have a mind to make trial of your horse, that I may know if it be as good a one as you say it is." The captain obeyed, and dismounting, the king got upon his horse, and taking the pistols, "Do you design to shoot me with one of these? said he: I am told, you intend to kill me, but in the mean time I can kill you if I please." Saying this, he discharged the two pistols in the air, and commanded the captain to follow him. Michau, having good reasons to desire to be excused, took leave of him two days after, and never after appeared." Decade of Henry the great, book viii. Busbeq, who at that time resided at Paris, in the quality of ambassador from the emperor Rodolphus II. assures us also, in his letters, that a deserter, whom he does not name, administered poison to the king of Navarre; but that this prince, either by the strength of his constitution, or the weakness of the poison, felt no bad effects from it: and adds, that this same man having attempted afterwards to shoot him with a pistol, and failed, was taken and put to the torture; and that it was known, by the behaviour of Henry III. upon this occasion, that he had no part in the designed assassination. Epistle 46.

* The first step which discovered the designs of the league, was an association of princes, prelates, and gentlemen of Picardy, who met at Peronne, to avoid obeying the edict of sixty-three articles, given in the year 1576, in favour of the protestants. The manifesto that was there drawn up, served for a model to all the other provinces, and even to the states of Blois, which were summoned about the end

horror, that in less than four years, ten royal armies fell upon the king of Navarre, when the danger that equally threatened the two kings was turned against him alone, through the weakness of

of that year, and whose resolutions obliged Henry III. to declare himself the head of the catholics against the huguenots, that he might not leave this title to be assumed by the duke of Guise. At first, they talked only of maintaining the catholic religion alone in the kingdom, but at length a debate concerning the succession to the crown was introduced, in which they brought the pope and king of Spain. See the form of these associations in the MS. volume marked 8826, in the king's library, p. 160. The conspiracy of the nobility of Normandy, with the oath to preserve the catholic religion in France, and the crown to the house of Valois, see in vol. 8832. p. 5. All this volume is likewise filled with Memoirs relating to the league, and the first states of Blois. See also the treaty of the league made with the king of Spain at the castle of Joinville, and signed by the respective parties, with many other pieces on the same subject, vol. 8866. All, or part of these pieces, with very curious circumstances relating to the same subject, may be found in different authors, such as the Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Memoirs of the league, vol. I. Memoirs of state by Villeroy, vol. II. De Thou, book lxiii. and lxxxi. D'Aubigné, vol. II. book iii. chap. 3. Matthieu, vol. I. book vii. and viii. Le Novennaire de Cayet, vol. I. at the beginning; and many others. Many persons believe the origin of the league to be much more ancient, and that it took its rise in the council of Trent, through the endeavours of the cardinal of Lorrain, the uncle; during which Francis duke of Guise on his side formed the plan of it in France; but the death of the latter suspended the effect. 'Tis pretended also, that Don John of Austria passing through France, in his way to Flanders, concerted the scheme with the duke of Guise. The college of Forteret has passed for the cradle of the league. 'Tis said that an advocate, named David, carried the Memoirs to Rome; and that these Memoirs, which may be read in the first volume of the Memoirs of the league, being intercepted by the huguenots, gave them the first certainty of it. Some persons have doubted whether this advocate, who died in his journey to Rome, or, as others say, in his return thence, did not treat with the pope by his own motion, and agreeably to his own opinion: which is not less probable. As for Henry III. he certainly deserves all the reproaches which the duke of Sully here casts upon him. He had undeniable proofs of his enemies designs upon the royal authority; to whom, when he broke the edict of pacification in 1577, he said aloud these words, "I am much afraid, that by our endeavours to suppress calvinism, we shall bring "the mass into danger." We are assured, that all the secrets of the league were discovered by a gentleman named la Rochette, to whom they were entrusted, and who suffered himself to be taken on purpose, that he might reveal them without danger. In a word, 'tis also certain, that the duke of Guise began to raise the standard of his party in the year 1585, when he was still so weak, that he could not depend

Henry III. who allowed his own enemies to give laws to him, and conducted himself the hand that sought to overthrow his authority.

Henry III. perceiving the league would publicly raise the standard of revolt, waked a little from the lethargy into which he had been plunged, and thought proper to send the duke de Joyeuse ‡ into Normandy, to oppose the duke d'Elbœuf §, who kept an army there, which the league made use of to extort the famous edict of July †, wherein all the huguenots were ordered, either to go to mass, or to leave the kingdom in six months.

Joyesue, who had my two brothers in his army, passed by Rosny, and prevailed upon me, without much difficulty, to go with him: by attacking the league, the friends of the king of Navarre entered into his true interests. I gave him the best reception in my power, but nothing charmed him so much as the beauty of my horses.

Lavardin likewise took his way through Rosny, but went to lodge at the extremity of the town. Chicot ‡, who would always give free scope to his hu-

pend upon more than four thousand foot and a thousand horse. Beauvais Nangis also (and he relates it himself in his Memoirs) asked him one day what he intended to do if the king should come to attack him: "I will retire immediately to Germany, replied the duke, and there "wait for a more favourable opportunity."

* Anne duke of Joyeuse, the eldest of seven sons of William of Joyeuse. § Claude of Lorrain.

† This was the treaty of Nemours, the triumph of the league, and the disgrace of Henry III. Henry IV. told the marquis de la Force, in the presence of Matthieu, who relates it in his eighth book, that the moment he was informed of this shameful weakness of the king of France, his mustaches turned suddenly white on that side of his face, which he supported with his hand. Sixtus the fifth appeared ashamed himself; and by the same bull of September the 5th, 1585, wherein he excommunicated all that assisted the huguenots, he likewise excommunicated those who undertook any thing against the king and kingdom. He foresaw at that time all the miseries that would befall France. See these articles of Nemours, and the proceedings of the league in France and Rome, vol. I. of the Memoirs of Nevers, p. 661, and following.

‖ Chicot was a Gascon, brave, rich, and a buffoon. At the siege of Rouen, he wounded Henry of Lorrain, count of Chaligny, in the

mour, resolved to divert himself at Lavardin's expence, whom he called a madman; and sending for him one day, told him with a mysterious air, that that devil of a huguenot (meaning me) certainly intended to keep the deaf man (a nickname he gave likewise to the duke of Joyeuse) prisoner. Lavardin, without reflecting that this attempt would be useless, though it had not been ridiculous, armed himself immediately, with all his domestics, and came with them in bravado before my door; where he was obliged to bear the railleries of the whole company, who did not spare him.

WHAT I am now going to say, will hardly appear credible. We set out together, and had scarcely reached Verneuil, when the duke of Joyeuse received a packet from court, which informed him, that the king had concluded a peace with the league, and that it was his majesty's intention, that the army, which two days ago was to support him against the league *, should be led against the king of Navarre.

thigh; and taking him prisoner, presented him to Henry IV. saying, "Here, keep what I give thee." The count, enraged at being taken by a fool, gave him a blow on the head with the hilt of his sword, which killed him. He used to say whatever he pleased to the king, without giving him any offence. When the duke of Parma came to France, Chicot said to the king, before all the courtiers, "My friend, I see very well that all you do will signify nothing, unless you either turn catholic, or pretend you are one." Another time he said to him, "I am convinced that to be peaceably king of France, you would give both papists and huguenots to Lucifer's clerk; so true it is, that you kings have no religion but in appearance." "I am not surprized," said he another time to his majesty, "that so many persons desire to be kings: it is a good trade, and by working at it only an hour in a day, one may make sufficient provision for the rest of the week, without being obliged to one's neighbours; but for God's sake, my friend, take care and keep out of the hands of the leaguers, for if you should fall into some of them, they would hang you up like a hog's gut, and write upon your gibbet, At the crown of France and Navarre, are good lodgings to be lett." Memoirs for the history of France, vol. II. p. 72.

* The king was obliged to it at Châlons by the leaguers, who were assembled there. He scarcely excused himself to the king of Navarre, upon the necessity he was driven to. This prince and the queen

Joyeuse, in relating this to me, added, "Well! "monsieur le baron de Rosny, this stroke will give "me a cheap bargain of your fine horses, for the "war is declared against the protestants: but I per- "suade myself, continued he, that you will not be "so simple as to join the king of Navarre, and by "embarking in a cause that will infallibly be ruin- "ed, lose your fine estate of Rosny."

THE duke might have spoken much longer without interruption; for although I was sufficiently acquainted with the court, so that nothing from that quarter could surprize me, yet I could not reflect, without astonishment, upon those difficulties through which fortune seemed to take a pleasure in leading the king of Navarre, before she conducted him to that greatness which was destined for him; for I was always persuaded of this in my own mind, and the predictions of la Brosse were continually present to me. My answer, therefore, to Joyeuse, turned wholly upon these presages; after which I quitted him abruptly. This step might appear a little extravagant to him; and I have been informed, that he said to those about him, "There goes a consummate "fool; but he will be finely deluded by his "sorcerer."

I RETURNED to my house, from whence I set out again immediately, after taking some measures conformable to the sudden change which had so lately happened. I went directly to Guienne, where the king of Navarre was, and staid with him four or five months, during which he was employed in making preparations against the storm that was bursting upon him. He carried me with him to Montauban,

queen his mother suffered themselves to be unseasonably intimidated by the threats of the league, whose forces were exaggerated, although it would not have been difficult to have destroyed them in the beginning. The council missed an opportunity of uniting the Low Countries to the crown, by sending back the deputies from those provinces, without an answer, who came to offer the sovereignty of them to the king, provided he would march with his troops on that side. Thus were two great errors committed at one time. De Thou, book lxxxi.

where he held ſeveral conferences with the proteſtants upon the part it was neceſſary they ſhould take in this conjuncture. Unhappily for them, upon this occaſion, when all was at ſtake, they did not underſtand their true intereſt ſufficiently, at leaſt ſo as to oblige them to a perfect union amongſt themſelves, and a faithful concurrence in the ſame deſigns. From that time, ſome of the principal leaders thought more of their own advancement than the king's, without conſidering that their fortunes were ſo cloſely connected with his, that if he failed, it would be impoſſible for them to ſucceed. Each was for building a fortune for himſelf, independent of the general plan.

This diſunion of minds ſhewed itſelf more apparently in a private conference held at St. Paul de Lamiate *, where audience was given to a doctor of divinity, named Butrick, ſent thither by the elector Palatine. It was there that the viſcount de Turenne gave the firſt indications of that turbulent, falſe, and ambitious ſpirit, which formed his character. He had, in concert with this Butrick, projected a new ſyſtem † of government, into which they had drawn monſieurs de Conſtans, d'Aubigné, de St. Germain-Beaupré, de St. Germain de Clan, de Brezolles, and others. They wanted to form the calviniſt part of France into a kind of republican ſtate, under the protection of the elector Palatine; and five or ſix lieutenants in his name were to be ſent into the different provinces.

If we examine this project, it will eaſily appear, that the king of Navarre was but little obliged to

* In the biſhopric of Caſtres.

† The hiſtorian who gives us the life of the duke of Bouillon, does not deny that theſe were the views of this calviniſt nobleman. He was a very able politician, extremely ambitious, paſſionately deſirous of the quality of leader of the calviniſts of France, and very capable of filling that poſt. This is all that can be ſaid of him, to ſoften thoſe terms, rather too ſevere, which monſieur de Sully frequently makes uſe of in theſe Memoirs, when he ſpeaks of the duke of Bouillon.

these gentlemen, since by this plan they blended the princes of the blood with the officers of the protestant party, and reduced them all to the quality of lieutenants under a petty foreign prince. This was not the only time that the king of Navarre found secret enemies in his councils, amongst his dependents, and, in appearance, most faithful servants, and even amongst his own friends and relations.

FROM men all things may be expected; they are not to be kept firm to their duty, integrity, and the laws of society, by fidelity and virtue, but by their hopes and wishes. But how could these consummate politicians undertake to mention unity and conduct in their pretended republic? they, who were for giving it so many heads, each independent of the other, and all under little subjection to a protector too weak to make himself be obeyed. It was perceived immediately, that their design was to make themselves so many sovereigns in their several districts, not foreseeing that by that means they would only deliver up each other to the discretion of Spain, and the league, who would easily destroy them, by attacking them separately.

ALTHOUGH these cabals of the principal officers in the protestant party with a foreigner, were carried on privately enough, yet happily they did not hinder the better party from prevailing in the assembly. The duke of Montmorency * was of opinion, that in the present danger we should be all united, and keep ourselves effectually upon the defensive. I insisted, in all the councils, upon the necessity of acknowledging the authority of one only head, and of not weakening our power by dividing it. As we came out from one of these councils, the king of Navarre drawing me aside, said to me, "Monsieur le baron "de Rosny, it is not enough to speak well, we must "act still better: are you not resolved that we should

* This is Henry, marechal Damville, afterwards duke of Montmorency.

" die together? it is no longer time to be frugal; " all men of honour, and who have their religion at " heart, must venture one half of their estates to save " the other. I am persuaded that you will be " amongst the first to assist me, and I promise you, if " I succeed, you shall partake of my good fortune." " No, no, sir, replied I, we will not die, but we " will live together, and make our enemies shorter " by their heads. I have still a wood that will pro- " duce me a hundred thousand francs, and all shall be " employed on this occasion; you shall give me " more when you are rich, which will certainly " happen. I had a preceptor who was possessed by a " devil, and he foretold it me." The king of Navarre could not help smiling at this sally, and embracing me closely,, " Well, my friend, said he to me, " return to your house, be diligent, and come to me " soon again, with as many of your friends as you " can bring with you, and do not forget your wood " of high trees." He afterwards communicated to me the design he had to draw the war to Paris, or at least to the Loire; which was, in effect, the only means of succeeding. He told me also, that he carried on a private correspondence in Angers, but that he feared the prince of Condé would by his precipitation obstruct his designs there, more than the catholics; the event will shew if he judged rightly. He promised to inform me of all that passed, and took leave of me, with a thousand testimonies of friendship, which I shall never forget.

I ARRIVED at Bergerac, almost in the same moment that the cardinal de Lenoncourt *, Mr. de Sillery, and Mr. de Poigny came thither also, being deputed by the court to the king of Navarre, to represent to him, for the last time, the necessity he was under of submitting to the king's pleasure, and of

* Philip de Lenoncourt, cardinal and archbishop of Rheims. Nicolas Brulart, marquis of Sillery, afterwards chancellor. John d'Angenes, lord of Poigny.

changing

changing his religion †. Poigny came to me the next day, disclosing to me the purport of his commission, and asked me what I thought would be the event of his journey. I assured him that he was giving himself an useless trouble; and that on an occasion when religion, the state, and the royal authority were in so great danger, it would not be words only that could prevail upon the king of Navarre. He shrugged up his soldiers, sighed at my answer, and instead of replying, "I believe, said he to me, it "will be a difficult thing to procure a mass in this "city." I conducted him to the chapel myself with the other deputies, being desirous to persuade them by this liberty that was allowed to catholics, in a city wherein the protestants were masters, that we were not the real enemies of the king.

WHAT I had foretold the deputies of the event of their commission, exactly happened. As for me, I

† In the Memoirs of the life of J. A. de Thou, book iii. there is a conversation which Michael de Montagne had with this president, that the reader may not be displeased to see here. "As they were "discoursing, says the author, upon the causes of the present trou-"bles, Montagne told the president, that he had been a mediator be-"tween the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guise, when these "princes were at the court; and that the latter by his cares, his ser-"vices, and assiduities, made advances to gain the king of Navarre's "friendship; but finding that he made a jest of him, and that after "all his endeavours he was still an implacable enemy, he had recourse "to war as the last resource to defend the honour of his family; that "the enmity which raged in the minds of these two persons, was the "cause of a war, which was at present so far kindled, that only the "death of one of them could extinguish it; that neither the duke, or "any of his family, believed themselves secure, while the king of "Navarre lived; and the king of Navarre, on his side, was persuad-"ed, that he should draw no advantage from his right of succession to "the crown, during the duke's life. As for religion, added he, "which they both make such a noise about, it is a good pretence to "procure adherents, but neither of them is much affected by it. The "fear of being abandoned by the protestants, is the sole cause that pre-"vents the king of Navarre from embracing the religion of his an-"cestors, nor would the duke recede from the confession of Aug-"sburg, if his uncle Charles, cardinal of Lorrain, had convinced him, "that he might follow it without prejudice to his interest. These, "he said, were the sentiments he discovered in these princes, when "he was employed in their affairs."

continued my journey to Paris, where, on my arrival, I found nothing was talked of but the design of ruining the king of Navarre entirely, and extirpating the huguenots. Every thing there was conducted according to the inclination of the league, which, since the shameful step the king had taken, ruled despotically, and all the worthy Frenchmen that remained, were under a necessity of lamenting in private the misfortunes which the king's weakness had drawn upon the kingdom. It was to these that I addressed myself, and I had some conference with Mess. de Rambouillet, de Montbazon ‡ the elder, d'Aumont, de la Rocheguion, des Arpentis, and some others. They all assured me, that when once the king of Navarre should appear in the neighbourhood of the Loire, he should soon see a considerable number of true Frenchmen in his train I confirmed them as much as I was able in these good resolutions †, and after I had bought some horses at Paris, I made haste to procure those sums I had promised the king.

I LEARNT by public report, what had happened at Angers: but, in order to give a distinct account of it, it is necessary to take the story a little higher. Brissac ‡, who was governor of the castle of this city, placed a lieutenant there in his absence, called captain Grec, with twenty soldiers, on whose fidelity he had an entire reliance. Two of these soldiers, having been formerly of the reformed religion, suffered themselves to be gained by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to deliver up the castle to them,

* Nicholas d'Angennes, marquis of Rambouillet. Lewis de Rohan, created duke of Montbazon, in the year 1588. John d'Aumont, marechal of France. ------- de Silly, count of Rocheguion. Lewis de Bois, lord of Arpentis, master of the king's wardrobe, governor of Touraine.

† Monsieur de Rosny's negotiations with Henry III. is mentioned by de Thou, book lxxxii.

‡ Charles de Cossy, count de Brissac.

which.

which would necessarily be followed by the surrender of the city. When it was known at Angers, that Henry III. had joined with the king of Navarre against the league, a third party was formed, headed by du Hallot †, who likewise endeavoured to gain Rochemorte and Fresne, so were the two soldiers named. Matters did not long continue in this state; the two soldiers, pressed by the prince of Condé, surprized captain Grec, and killed him, together with some of his men: after which they seized upon the castle. Du Hallot, who knew not of the change that had so lately happened at court, gave himself no trouble about this action; on the contrary, he satisfied the people, by representing to them, that the two soldiers had only acted according to the king's orders; and he remained in this error, till offering to enter the castle, he himself experienced the treachery of Rochemorte and Fresne, and through his mistake, suffered death upon the wheel ‡.

HITHERTO every thing succeeded for the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé's party. But they soon experienced the instability of fortune. Rochemorte having been drawn beyond the bridge by the catholics, who kept the castle invested, perceiving that their design was to surprize the place, and make him their prisoner, endeavoured to get in again. In this tumult, those within the castle thought of nothing but of drawing up the bridge immediately. Rochemorte grasped the chains, which losing from his hold, he fell into the ditch, where a stag that was feeding, dispatched him by tearing him in pieces. Fresne only remained, who, two days after, as he was sleeping upon a parapet on the wall, where he thought himself in safety, was killed by a carbine, shot from the other side of the river, at the distance of above 500 paces. After which the catholics

† Michael Bourrouge du Hallot. Lewis Bouchereau de Rochemorte. Leon de Fresne.

‡ The king was so much afraid of the league, that he publicly disavowed du Hallot's enterprize.

drove out the rest of the huguenots from the city and castle, with the same facility that they had seized it. Things would not have taken this unfavourable turn, if the king of Navarre had conducted the enterprize alone; for he would not have suffered the two conspirators to begin their operation, till he was at the gate to support them with his whole army.

THIS ill-concerted scheme produced more misfortunes; the prince of Condé being engaged in the siege of Brouage, when news was brought him, that his party had surprized Angers, balanced not a moment whether he should quit the siege, but went immediately to the assistance of his confederates at Angers; where arriving too late, he failed in both his designs. This was not all; the whole catholic army being idle and dispersed, assembled again in the neighbourhood of Angers, which took away all possibility of regaining it, precipitated all the actions of the campaign, and brought the prince of Condé himself, as we shall see presently, into a danger, from whence he escaped but by a singular instance of good fortune.

AFTER this first act of hostility on the protestant side, I believed it would be no longer possible to keep any measures with the catholics. If to continue at Rosny, therefore, was dangerous, the country being overspread with royalists, it was no less so to endeavour to make my way to the king of Navarre: however, I resolved upon this last expedient, being convinced, that he never had more need of my assistance than in the present conjuncture; and that the difficulty of sending dispatches through the midst of an enemy's army, was the only cause of my not hearing from him as he had promised. * Messieurs de Mouy, de Feuquieres, and Morinville, to whom I imparted my design, judging it to be too hazardous,

* Isaac Vaudre, or Vaudray, lord of Mouy. ----- de Pas-Feuquieres.

refused

refuſed to accompany me; but this did not hinder me from ſetting out on my journey, attended only by ſix gentlemen, and my domeſtics, two of whom carried portmanteaus, in each of which were ſix thouſand crowns.

I LAY the firſt night at Nonancourt †, and the ſecond at Chateaudun ‡. Hitherto no unfortunate accident befel me, for although we every where met with great numbers of catholic ſoldiers, yet they all ſuppoſed I was going, like them, to join the body of the duke of Joyeuſe's army; with whom, as a ſoldier, named Mothepotain, informed me, every thing went very well. I left Chateaudun before day, leſt I ſhould be diſcovered, and came to Vendome; where not being willing to be known by Bénehart *, I made Boiſbrueil, one of the gentlemen in my train, paſs for the maſter of the troop, and I mounted, like one of the domeſtics, upon a horſe that carried baggage. He who appeared to be the chief amongſt us, was aſked ſeveral queſtions, to which he made proper anſwers, and we were ſuffered to paſs. We traverſed the whole city, in order to lodge in the moſt diſtant part of the ſuburbs. Bénehart, who believed us to be catholics, as we had aſſured him we were, very obligingly ſent to adviſe us to return into the city, becauſe the prince of Condé's army, which had been repulſed before Angers, were diſperſed over the country, and ſometimes made excurſions to the gates of the city, which rendered our ſtay in the ſuburbs very dangerous. What he repreſented to us as a misfortune we ſhould have looked upon as a very great happineſs; but there was a neceſſity for concealing it: therefore, the pretended maſter of the equipage, ſeeming to approve of this advice, ordered the baggage to be put upon the horſes again, that we might return into the city. It belonged to me, who performed the part of a do-

† In Perche. § In the county of Chartrain.
* James de Maillé de Bénehart, governor of Vendome.

meſtic,

meſtic, ſecretly to protract our ſtay till the night approached. The hurry and confuſion, occaſioned by the removal of all the people who lodged there, for the order was general, kept our artifice unſuſpected: at length, we in reality made preparations for going, as well as the reſt; but after our horſes had been fed and refreſhed, and the night half over, we mounted, and, inſtead of entering the city, filed off into a bye ſtreet, which I had cauſed to be reconnoitred, and got into the fields on that ſide, where I ſuppoſed the prince of Condé's army might be.

We had, however, reaſon to apprehend, that the artifice which had hitherto proved ſo ſucceſsful, would occaſion our ruin, through the impoſſibility of diſtinguiſhing readily, what party thoſe whom we might happen to meet, belonged to. A miſtake might coſt us our lives; but there being no remedy, we continued our journey, though with ſufficient uneaſineſs, thinking neceſſary not to alter our uſual anſwer. In effect, the firſt we met with was a company of light-armed horſe, commanded by Falandre. To the queſtion, which was, Qui vive, we replied, Vive le Roy; and Falandre examining us no farther, adviſed us to join him, leſt we ſhould meet the prince of Condé's little army, which he aſſured us was not far off; adding, if we doubted him, we might get further information from two or three companies of argoulets †, who were coming after. Theſe laſt words furniſhed us with a pretence for evading his perplexing civility: we feigned to have reaſons for not following the ſame route with him, and for waiting to take our meaſures from the anſwer we ſhould receive from the argoulets. In reality, we were no leſs apprehenſive of this other rencounter, but we prepared for it, relying ſtill upon the good fortune of

† So called from the bows with which they were at firſt armed. They ſerved on foot or on horſeback, as our dragoons do at preſent. When the arquebuſes were firſt in uſe, they were called horſe-arquebuſiers; and it is by this name they are generally called in theſe Memoirs.

eſcaping,

eſcaping, by means of our diſguiſe. Accordingly, we did not fail to the queſtion, Qui vive, which was aſked us by the next company we met, to anſwer boldly, Vive le Roy, being perſuaded that we ſpoke to the argoulets of the royal army, whom Falandre had mentioned to us. This ſuppoſition, however, probably drew us into a very great danger; for theſe argoulets having perceived the prince of Condé's army at a diſtance, diſperſed, and threw themſelves into the woods. Inſtead of them, therefore, theſe whom we now encountered were four companies belonging to the prince; which we ſoon comprehended by the whole troop's falling upon us, and aiming their pieces, crying out to us to ſurrender. At that moment, I plainly diſtinguiſhed three officers of my acquaintance, whom it would not have been difficult in any other ſituation to have made myſelf known to; but I reflected, that in ſuch ſort of encounters, the firſt word, the firſt motion, that tend to an explanation, are generally underſtood as a refuſal to ſurrender, and followed by a diſcharge of the piece cloſe to the breaſt. Inſtead, therefore, of naming myſelf, or thoſe officers, I behaved like a man who yields himſelf priſoner, and marched after the reſt; till coming near meſſieurs de Clermont * and St. Gelais, whom I ſurprized very much by embracing, they ordered my equipage to be reſtored to me, and likewiſe the portmanteaus which contained my money.

The prince of Condé came up ſoon after theſe four companies: he could ſcarcely believe what he ſaw, ſo bold did my enterprize appear to him. We lay all night in this place, after ſupping very temperately out of wooden diſhes; and when the time came which obliged us to ſeparate, the prince, who was ſo thinly accompanied, that far from being able to make head againſt a royal army, he was not in a condition to defend himſelf againſt a ſtrong detach-

* George de Clermont d'Amboiſe, marquis of Galerande.

ment,

ment, and being likewise in a province where he was sought for in all parts, would have had me to receive him into my company, in the quality of a private gentleman. He was so well known, that I could not yield to his request, without ruining both him and myself. I intreated him, therefore, to dispense with my complaisance; and making the same excuse to the duke de la Trémouille *, charged myself only with messieurs de Fors, du Plessis, de Verac, and d'Oradour. The prince of Condé remained behind, extremely perplexed; and finding it still more dangerous to continue with his twelve hundred horse, than to march with a small retinue, he divided them into platoons, of which the most considerable consisted only of twenty horse, making them take bye-ways, and marching himself through the roads, by a good fortune of which there are but few examples, twelve times escaped the pursuits of his enemies.

Nor indeed was I less fortunate myself. To the artifices I had already made use of, I added another, which succeeded wonderfully: I assumed the name of one of my brothers; and to make myself look more youthful, cut off my beard and mustaches. This, however, did not disguise me so well, but that through every place I passed, I could hear people about me say, that I perfectly resembled my brother the huguenot. To avoid the questions that might be asked me, I took the style of a zealous partizan of the league, spread the report of the prince of Condé's defeat, and the rout of the protestant forces by the duke of Joyeuse; by which means I arrived safe at Chateau-Renaud †. The great difficulty was how to pass the Loire; yet this I accomplished, through the assistance of M. des Arpentis, who acted on this occasion like a true friend. I received, likewise, some services from M. de Montbazon. As soon as I arrived at Montbazon, he sent me a present

* Claude, duke de la Tremouille. † In Touraine.

of

of wine and fruit, and treated me with so much kindness in several other instances, that although I was known in this place, I complied with his intreaties, and staid there three days, which was no more than necessary, as our horses began to be greatly fatigued. By the death of M. de Montbazon *, which happened soon after, I was deprived of an opportunity of shewing my gratitude to a man, who had the good of the state so nearly at heart.

FAVOURED by my new disguise, I traversed Châtelleraud and Poitiers †. At Ville-fagnan, meeting with a regiment of Swiss that was going to join the marechal de Matignon's army, I resolved to draw some advantage from this rencounter. The Swiss were not displeased with any thing I said to them, because I always took care to provide them each morning with a repast; and I believe I might have depended upon them, had I even discovered my true name. I travelled with them four days, and we did not separate, while I could possibly avoid it. Scarce had I quitted them, when passing the river at St. Marsaud ‡, I was known by Puiferret, who advanced with his company to the bank of the river. Happily for me, I had already got to the other side; and having this advantage of him, I gained the house of M. de Neufvy ‖. At Marton ** I went down, as usual, into the suburbs, and immediately, through a strange foreboding, returned into the city. I was informed the next day, that the door of the stable in which my horses were supposed to be, had been burst open in the night by a petard; but the reflections I made upon this accident, did not prevent me from giving orders for my departure: when I was accosted by a stranger, who said to me. "Monsieur, I do not de-

* He was slain at the battle of Arques.
† Upon the confines of Poitou, and Saintonge.
‡ A village in Saintonge.
‖ The youngest son was called Bertrand de Melet de Fayoles of Neufvy; for Magdelaine de Melet de Fayoles, lord of Neufroy, his eldest, was in the party of the league. ** In Angoumois.

"sire

"sire to know who you are; but if you are a huguenot, and leave this place, you will perish; five miles distant from hence there is an ambush of fifty horse, well armed, which I believe is designed against you." I thanked this man for his kindness, without seeming discomposed by what he had told me, and coldly answered, that although I was not a huguenot, yet to fall into an ambush appeared to me to be always dangerous. I then returned to my inn, where pretending that one of my finest horses had hurt his foot, I ordered them to be all unsaddled.

THAT I might be assured whether what I had heard was true, I made one of my servants, named Perigordin, who could imitate perfectly well the gibberish of a peasant, disguise himself like one; and after instructing him in what he was to do, sent him to that part of the country, where I was told the ambush was posted.

PERIGORDIN meeting these fifty horsemen, told them, in answer to the questions they asked him concerning the news of the city, that my departure was deferred till the next day. He followed them to a town, two leagues from thence, where they retired extremely mortified at having missed their blow, but resolved to return to the same place the next morning: and came back to me to make his report. I set out that moment, and after some other little adventures of the same kind, arrived at the house of M. de Longa, and went from thence to Bergerac, where the king of Navarre then was. This prince, on whom no instance of kindness was ever lost, held me a long time embraced in his arms; and appeared extremely sensible of the dangers to which, through my attachment to him, I had exposed myself. He would make me acquaint him with the least particulars relating to my journey, especially the rencounter I had with the prince of Condé, and the slippery condition in which I had left him.

'TIS

'Tis impossible to describe the king of Navarre's perplexity at this time: without troops, money, or aid, he saw three powerful armies marching against him. Those of the dukes of Maïenne and Joyeuse were advancing by great journeys; and he had the marechal de Matignon's army actually in front. The forty thousand francs I had brought with me, proved a very seasonable supply to this prince, who could not have raised such a sum in his whole court. We marched towards Castillon and Montségur *, which Matignon made shew of besieging; but he falling suddenly upon Castets, we were obliged to turn to that side, and after a long and extreme cold march, for it was in the month of February, we arrived time enough to make them raise this siege.

But when we learnt that the duke of Maïenne's army was near, then it was, that not being able to think of any means by which we could resist the efforts of two armies, whose numbers were so superior to ours, we were thrown into the greatest consternation imaginable; we knew not which way to turn, nor what resolution to take: one was of opinion, that the king of Navarre should retire into the heart of Languedoc; another, that he should go still farther; and a third advised him to pass over to England, from whence, after he had secured some powerful succours, he should go and put himself at the head of those that Germany had given him hopes of. All agreed upon this one point, that the king ought to go farther from Guienne. It was with grief that I saw this advice, which would leave the protestant party in France without any resource, likely to prevail.

The king of Navarre desiring to know my opinion, I represented to him, that our affairs were not reduced to such an extremity, as to oblige us to abandon them entirely: that it would be time enough to do that, after we had endeavoured once

* Cities of Gascony, in the bishopric of Aire.

more

more to make head against them every where; which did not appear to be impossible, by leaving, for example, the viscount de Turenne, with a small body of troops, such as could be got together, to act upon the defensive in Guienne; and while the duke of Montmorency did the same in Languedoc, and Lesdiguieres in Dauphiny, the king should reserve the defence of Rochelle, and the neighbouring country, for himself, till the foreign troops, that were now very soon expected, arrived, which would bring the two powers nearer to an equality. The king of Navarre approved of this advice, and declared he would follow it; "But, added he, the duke of "Maïenne is not so peevish a boy, but that he will "permit me to walk up and down a little longer in "Guienne." He then gave some orders before he set out for Rochelle, and took a journey to Bearn; which the present conjuncture rendered absolutely necessary.

He staid there but eight days, and during this interval, the two catholic armies having joined, and seized all the passages by which they thought the king of Navarre could return to Poitou, he saw himself upon the point of being shut up in Nerac. In this extremity the king resolving to attempt all things, rather than not secure himself a passage *; he left Nerac, followed by two hundred horse, and took the road towards Castel-geloux †. When he was got half way thither, he separated his whole troop, and keeping only twenty of us that were best mounted, and a like number of his guards, appointed ‡ Sainte-foy for a place of rendezvous for all the rest: then, turning short, struck into a road amidst woods and heaths, with which he was well acquainted, having often hunted there, and arrived

* See this passage of the king of Navarre, and all the military expeditions on both sides, in d'Aubigné, vol. III. Matthieu, vol. I. book xviii. Cayet, book i. and other historians.

† A city of the principality of Albret.

‡ A city of Guienne upon the Dordogne.

at

at ‖ Caumont, where he slept three hours. We passed the river after sun-set, and marched all night through the enemy's quarters, and even over the moats of Marmande; after which, taking a bye-way near Sauvetat, we came two hours before day to Sainte-foy, where all the rest of his men, who had divided into small platoons, arrived also by different ways, without the least loss, not even of their baggage. The duke of Maïenne, exasperated at this disappointment of his hopes, went to discharge all his rage upon ‡ Montignac le Comte, where captain Roux, and serjeant More defended themselves so courageously against his whole army, that he could not oblige them to surrender, but by granting them the most honourable conditions.

This general found less resistance in § Sainte Bazeile. Despueilles, the governor of that small place, was allied to the family of Courtenay, and had the reputation of a brave man: which inspired me with an inclination to shut myself up with him, contrary to the advice of my relations and friends, who without doubt knew him much better than I did. The king of Navarre a long time denied me the permission I asked of him; at last, overcome by my importunity, he gave me thirty men, with whom I threw myself into Sainte-Bazeile. I found the place in a very bad condition, without ramparts, and the houses all built of clay, which the cannon went quite through. However, it might have held out some time, but Despueilles being seized with fear, rejected all my advice, and was mad enough to put himself into the enemies hands, who treated the city as they pleased. The king of Navarre, at the first confused reports he heard of this action, was angry with us all; but when he was informed of the truth, the whole weight of his displeasure fell upon Des-

‖ Another city of Gueiane.
‡ A city of Perigord upon the Vezere.
§ A city of Bazadois upon the Dordogne.

pueilles,

not fail to anſwer my reaſons; but I ſtill perſiſted in maintaining, that the king of Navarre, by complying with the terms propoſed to him, could bring only his ſingle perſon to his aid, whereas by uniting with him in the condition he was now in, without requiring the ſacrifice of his religion, he would ſtrengthen the king's party with a body very powerful in the ſtate. I had a conference, to the ſame effect, with the queen-mother: and I perceived that the force of my arguments made ſome impreſſion on them both, at firſt, and that it was the fear of that change which an union with a prince of the reformed religion might produce, which only prevented them from yielding. I did not, however, deſpair of prevailing upon them to ſtrike this great blow, and by the (not only gracious but) free and open manner, in which their majeſties treated me, I had reaſon to flatter myſelf I ſhould ſucceed.

I LEFT them in theſe favourable diſpoſitions to go to Paris, to confer with the Swiſs deputies, and brought them to my purpoſe with very little difficulty. It coſt me nothing but a ſmall expence in proviſions, eſpecially wine; for which they promiſed, without any limitation, a body of ten thouſand Swiſs; four thouſand of which were to ſtay in Dauphiny, and the other ſix thouſand to be employed in the ſervice, and at the diſcretion of the two kings. The king of France again aſſured me by Meſſ. de Lenoncourt, de Poigny, and Brulart, that his ſentiments were not altered, and that he paſſionately wiſhed for the union; which was not leſs earneſtly deſired by the king of Navarre: in the diſpatches I received from him almoſt every day, he exhorted me to uſe all my endeavours to ſecure its ſucceſs, and even to ſacrifice for that purpoſe ſome part of his intereſt.

AT my return to St. Maur, I gave the king an account of my journey, and aſked what uſe he would make of the ſix thouſand Swiſs, and to what place he deſigned they ſhould go. The king demanded, that

that they ſhould be brought into the neighbourhood of Paris; and even, if there was a neceſſity for it, ſerve him againſt the league. I foreſaw all the inconveniencies that would attend a project of this kind, and did not yield to this article, but by the expreſs command of the king of Navarre, who thought ſo ſmall a matter ought not to retard their reconciliation. It will be ſoon ſeen whether this article was really of as little importance as was imagined, and what was the conſequence of this imprudent compliance.

THE treaty between the two kings being concluded upon the conditions that have been mentioned, I reſolved to depart from court, leaving only Marſilliere at Paris, under colour of continuing the negotiation that had been begun: but he had only attended me to Paris, to take the firſt favourable opportunity of going to Germany, to facilitate, by the aſſiſtance of meſſieurs de § Clairvant, and de Guitry, the departure of a body of German troops from thence, which the proteſtants of thoſe countries had promiſed the king of Navarre. This deſign Marſilliere executed very happily. As for me, I ſtaid but eight days at Roſny with my wife; after which I returned to the king of Navarre, who was extremely well ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of my commiſſion.

THIS prince could not reſolve to lie idle in Rochelle, and therefore prevailed with the inhabitants to furniſh him with twelve hundred foot, two hundred horſe, and three cannons; theſe he gave to the duke de la Tremouille for the reduction of Talmont †, which he could not endure to ſee in the enemies hands. I followed the duke de la Tremouille, with Mignonville, Fouquerolles, Bois-du-Lys, and ſome other officers.

THE town having no fortifications, we ſeized it without oppoſition, and began immediately to attack

§ Claude Antony de Vienne, lord of Clairvant.
† A city of Lower Poitou.

the castle; the walls of which were very strong, but had no works on the outside. Maroniere, who was governor of it, although he did not expect to be attacked, depended upon some speedy supplies that ‖ Malicorne had engaged to bring him: which determined us to press the place vigorously. The passage by sea from Talmont to Rochelle is but six hours; I embarked for that place to fetch a supply of powder, with which we were not sufficiently provided, and to inform the king of Navarre, that we should find it very difficult to succeed with so small a number of men. The king soon raised two thousand more in the neighbourhood of Rochelle, and shipped them on board of three vessels, which during three days were in danger of perishing. At length we arrived at Talmont; the three vessels cast anchor there one after another, and the besieged learning that the king of Navarre conducted the attack in person, surrendered the place to him.

It was want of money that had prevented Malicorne from bringing supplies to the governor of Talmont; the king of Navarre, therefore, being freed from this fear, drew off his troops, in order to attack * Chizai. Fayolle, who commanded there, defended himself bravely. He made good use of a culverine, which was the only piece of artillery he had in the place; nor yielded till the last extremity. I took notice of a singular accident that happened there: the princess Catherine having sent the steward of her houshold with a letter to the king her brother, a bullet of this culverine went quite through the body of his horse, and came out at his breast, yet the beast continued standing near ten minutes after.

Another shot from an arquebuse was the cause of a much greater misfortune: a gentleman charged with a verbal message to the king of Navarre, concerning some important affairs, was shot dead at the

‖ John de Sourches, lord of Maljcorne.
* In Upper Poitou, upon the Boutonne.

feet

feet of this prince, having only had time to ſay that he came from Heidelberg, from meſſieurs de Clairvant and de Guitry. This officer was ſent to inform the king, that the German horſe, and other proteſtant troops from Germany, were ready to enter France; and to know of him through what place he thought it moſt proper they ſhould march. Some were for their entering France by Lorrain, where the league was very powerful; others maintained, that they ought to take their route by the Bourbonnois, from thence by Berry and Poitou, and the ſide of the Loire. Meſſieurs de Montmorency and de Châtillon were for keeping them in Languedoc and near the Rhone. Never was ſo great a diverſity of opinions known, and unhappily the worſt prevailed, which was to bring them in through Beauce; doubtleſs, becauſe the king of France was willing to have them near him, that he might make uſe of them againſt the league, or at leaſt to keep it in awe. I is not probable that the king of Navarre would have conſented to this, but the accident that has been related was the cauſe that he was even ignorant of their contentions.

THIS prince, by a continuance of the ſame good fortune, took Sanzay, and afterwards St. Maixant †; the noiſe of five or ſix cannons, which till that time were ſeldom made uſe of in ſieges, produced this effect. He took advantage of his ſucceſs, and ſeeing himſelf reinforced with two hundred horſe, and five hundred foot, which were brought him by the prince of Condé, and the count de la Rochefoucault ‡, whom he had juſt made colonel-general of his infantry, he believed himſelf ſtrong enough to undertake the ſiege of Fontenay, the ſecond place for ſtrength in Poitou; although he was not ignorant,

† Other cities of Upper Poitou.

‡ Francis de la Rochefoucault, prince of Marſillac, ſon of him who was ſlain at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. He was killed in 1591.

that in this place there was a brave governor, and a strong garrison. The governor, whose name was la Roussiere, resolved to defend not only the city, but the suburb des Loges also, which was larger and more magnificent than the city itself, and surrounded with a great moat; to which were added strong barricadoes, that closed up the entrance of this suburb. The king of Navarre sent la Rochefoucault, at the head of forty gentlemen, to attack the upper end of this suburb in a very dark night. I joined messieurs de § Dangeau, de Vaubrot, d'Avantigny, de Challandeau, de Feuquieres, de Brasseusses, le Chene, and two or three others. We posted ourselves at one side of the barricadoes, with our pikes in our hands, and our pistols at our girdles, with a design either to throw them down, or leap over them. We were repulsed three times. Vaubrot, Avantigny, and I, in falling, drew five or six hogsheads of dung upon us, from which we were apprehensive we should not soon disengage ourselves; but our party having at that instant forced the works, we got up by means of this effort, and the enemies seeing us masters of the barricade, thought of nothing but retreating, after having first set fire to it, to protract our pursuit, lest by following them too close, we should in their confusion enter the city along with them.

We now took up our lodgings in the finest houses in the suburb, where we found all things in great abundance. The only inconvenience we suffered, was from the small shot of the place, which made the entrance to the king's and our own houses very dangerous; and the batteries upon the ramparts commanding all the avenues of this suburb, it was impossible to enter it without being exposed to continual discharges. One day, when I came out of my own house to go to the king's, which was the most beautiful in the suburb, a ball, as I was passing

§ Lewis de Courcillon de Dangeau.

through

through the ſtreet, cruſhed my head-piece, juſt as Liberge, my valet de chambre, came up to tie it. I cauſed a rope to be faſtened acroſs the ſtreet, and by means of ſome cloaths that were hung over it, prevented the beſieged from ſeeing at leaſt thoſe that paſſed.

We afterwards applied ourſelves without ceaſing to the trenches and undermining. The king of Navarre took inconceivable pains in this ſiege: he conducted the miners himſelf, after he had taken all the neceſſary precautions to hinder ſupplies from entering without: the bridges, avenues, and all the roads that led to the city, were ſtrictly guarded, as likewiſe great part of the country. One night, when I was upon guard with twenty horſe, at the ford of a river, I heard the noiſe of trampling of horſes at a diſtance, which made me conclude I ſhould be attacked. This noiſe ceaſed for ſome minutes, then began again with more violence; and came ſo near, that I prepared for defence. I ſuffered the troop to approach within arms length; but when we were juſt ready to fire, I perceived the occaſion of our alarm to be a number of horſes and mares, which had been wandering about this field, and came to water at the river. I was one of the firſt to laugh at this adventure; but in ſecret I was not ſorry that I had given orders to the perſon whom I pitched upon to go for aſſiſtance, not to ſet out till we were engaged in fight.

At this ſiege, my principal employment was the conduct of the artillery. The mining was ſo far advanced, that we could hear the voice of the ſoldiers who guarded the parapets, within the lodgment of the miners. The king of Navarre was the firſt who perceived this; he ſpoke, and made himſelf known to the beſieged; who were ſo aſtoniſhed at hearing him name himſelf from the bottom of th ſubterraneous places, that they demanded leav capitulate. The propoſals were all mad

uncommon way: the articles were drawn up, or rather dictated, by the king of Navarre, whose word was known by the besieged to be so inviolable, that they did not require a writing. They had no cause to repent of this confidence; the king of Navarre, charmed with a proceeding so noble, granted the garrison military honours, and preserved the city from pillage.

A WOMAN of the city having killed a fat hog the same day that they had capitulated, hearing that the garrison had surrendered, devised a pleasant stratagem, to deprive the rapacious soldiers of their prey. She made her husband hide himself, and wrapping the dead animal in a sheet, laid it, by the help of some friends, in a coffin, and by her cries drew all her neighbours about her. The mournful preparations for a funeral gave them to understand the cause of her lamentations; the priests were deceived as well as others. One of them conducted the funeral procession a-cross the suburbs, into a church-yard without the city, by the king of Navarre's permission. The ceremonies over, and the night being come, some persons posted by this woman near the grave, came to take up the dead animal, and carry it into the city; but they were perceived by some soldiers, who driving them from thence, discovered the truth, and seized the prey. One may easily imagine the secret was not well kept; it was known all over the city: a priest, to whom this woman, prest with remorse of conscience, had revealed it, published the adventure every where.

THE king of Navarre leaving the lord of ‖ La-Boulaye governor in this place; went to take the abbey of Maillezais, the situation of which he found so advantageous, that he resolved to make it a regular fortress, and ordered me to draw a plan of it. Davailles, a relation of La-Boulaye, was appointed to

‖ Charles Echaland, lord of La-Boulaye.

guard

guard it. His troops took Mauleon likewise, and afterwards the castle of La-Garnache §; from whence monsieur de Genevois * drove his own mother. She retired to Beauvois, a little city upon the sea-side, whither her son still pursued her, but falling this time into her hands, she in her turn made him prisoner of war.

I was not present at either of these sieges; the melancholy news I received from Rosny obliged me to go thither. During my stay at St. Maur, I obtained a protection for my castle and estate of Rosny, together with necessary passports for going thither when I pleased. It was this liberty that made me easy with regard to my wife, at a time when all sorts of outrages against the protestants were allowed. I learnt that this town was at that time almost wholly depopulated by the plague: my wife had lost the greatest part of her domestics, and fear having obliged her to fly into the neighbouring forests, she had passed two days and nights in her coach, and had afterwards taken refuge in the castle of Huet, belonging to madame de Compagnac, my aunt. Her joy, when she knew I was so near her, gave way to her fears of the danger I incurred by coming amongst persons infected with the plague; and thinking to force me to return, she ordered the gates to be shut upon me. She had too much occasion for assistance and consolation to be abandoned in that condition; I entered, notwithstanding her resistance, and staid a month in this house, having only two gentlemen,

§ Other strong places in the Lower Poitou.

* D'Aubigné explains this better, vol. III. b. i. c. x. "The lady "of La-Garnache, says he, sister to the duke of Rohan, held the "city of La-Garnache, and the castle of Beauvois upon the sea in "neutrality. Her son, called prince of Genevois, by his mother's "marriage with the duke of Nemours, seized La-Garnache, by "means of a correspondence he held with the domestics. He made "the same attempt upon Beauvois, but he was taken prisoner by his "mother. The result of all which was, that the king of Navarre "interesting himself in procuring his liberty, obtained it, and by the "same means the place."

and as many domestics, with me: breathing the air of the country in freedom, for the report of the plague kept all troublesome visitors from my house. I was not wholly useless to the king of Navarre all this time; my wood-merchant still owed me twenty-four thousand livres, and I prest for the payment of it. The persecution that was declared against the protestants, put me entirely in their power; and the fear lest this money, together with all my estates, should be confiscated for the use of the league, obliged me to be contented with ten thousand livres.

As soon as the contagion ceased, I carried my wife back to Rosny, after having taken the necessary precautions to purify the house; and left her at the report, that the duke of Joyeuse, whose march had hitherto been slow, and his operations very inconsiderable, was advancing hastily, to drive the king of Navarre from Poitou. This prince had just then been repulsed before Niort and Parthenai; and finding it impossible to keep all his fortresses against forces so superior to his, he caused the greatest part of them to be razed and dismantled, and preserved only Fontenai, Talmont, Maillezais, and St. Maixant ‖. He afterwards retreated to Rochelle, where I found him.

The treaty of alliance between the two kings, which was mentioned above, seeming to promise a more favourable event, the reader is, no doubt, impatient to know the success. All was already over; in one moment the whole design was overthrown. This proceeding of the court was certainly very uncommon, and will appear a mystery absolutely incomprehensible to those who know not what changes a prince who delivers himself up to irresolution, idleness, and timidity, is capable of assuming in affairs of state: nothing is more dangerous than a mind

‖ All these places are in Poitou.

thus

thus fluctuating and undetermined. In difficult situations, all things ought to be trusted to chance, nor ought it to be wholly neglected; but after having fixed on a particular design, every step that leads to it, ought to be regulated by wise and cool reflections. A necessary peace cannot be too earnestly desired, nor concluded too soon; but in critical circumstances nothing ought to be more carefully avoided, than keeping the people's mind in suspence, between peace and war. It was not by maxims like these that Catherine's counsellors conducted themselves; if they formed any resolution, it lasted but a moment, never held out to the end; and so timorously was it made, that it afforded even but a very imperfect remedy for the present evil. The fault of minds taken up in little trifling intrigues, and in general, of all those that have more vivacity than judgment, is to represent to themselves things that are near, in such a manner, as to be dazzled by them; and see those at a distance through a cloud: a few moments or days make up their futurity.

To this fault of never being able to resolve upon any thing, the king, or rather the queen-mother, added another still greater *. This was the use of I know not what kind of little affected dissimulation, or to say better, a wretched study of hypocrisy and deceit, without which she imagined her politics could not subsist: the first of these errors concealed from us the misfortune with which we were threatened, and the last tied the hands of those who might have assisted us to prevent it. What could we expect but to be ruined by it sooner or later? Thus it happened to Henry III. through his want of resolution to make use of the remedy that was offered him, by joining his troops with those of the king of Na-

* It has been asserted, that the interest of the true religion had no part in the politics of this queen. Witness these words which she was heard to say, when she thought the battle of Dreux was lost, "Well! we must pray to God then in French."

varre; by which means he might crush the enemies of his authority: he neglected to prosecute this design, and the consequence was, that he saw himself reduced to an extremity which might have been as fatal to the royal name as shameful to the memory of this prince.

CATHERINE had recourse to her usual artifices, and thought she performed a great deal, because she endured the fatigue of a long journey; she went into Poitou, and had several conferences with the king of Navarre † at Coignac, Saint Brix, and Saint Maixant. Sometimes she endeavoured to allure him, at other times to intimidate him with the sight of the considerable forces that were going to pour upon him, and whose efforts, she told him, she had hitherto suspended. In a word, she forgot nothing which she thought might induce him to change his religion. This, however, is certain, that it was not without regret she saw the league in a condition to oppress the king of Navarre, because it was not her interest that his ruin should be accomplished by that means. But what security did she give this prince, by the rash and unseasonable measures she wanted to engage him in? Had he not reason to believe, that the proposal she was constantly making him to change his religion, was, at the bottom, but an artful snare to deprive him of all assistance from the protestants, to make him countermand the troops that he expected from Germany, to draw him

† The queen asking him what he would have? he replied, looking at the young ladies she had brought with her, "There is nothing "here, madam, that I would have." Perefixe's history of Henry the Great. Matthieu adds, that Catherine pressing him to make some overture, "Madam, said he, there is no overture here for "me." Vol. I. book viii. p. 518. This interview was at St. Croix the 25th of September. "He was hunting one day at Saint "Brix, and wanting to shew that his horse was more lively than two "very fine ones belonging to Belliévre, a herd of pigs behind a hedge "frighted his horse, who threw him upon the earth, where he lay "senseless, bleeding at the nose and mouth. They carried him like "one dead to the castle. However, two or three days after he dis-"appeared." Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 588.

to

to court, to ruin him, and, after him, all his adherents? I had particular proofs that justified these apprehensions; for those conferences at which I was present with the king, not affording me the means of clearing my doubts, I held private ones, by his orders, with the ladies d'Uzes, and de Sauves, who were better acquainted with Catherine's inclinations than any other persons, and by whom I was loved with so much tenderness, that they always called me their son. In order to come to the knowledge of their real sentiments, I pretended to be well convinced of what indeed I only suspected, and complained that the queen-mother made use of all her endeavours to sacrifice the king of Navarre to the league. These two ladies confessed to me in confidence, that they believed religion served Catherine only for a pretence, and that affairs were in such a state, that the king of Navarre could no otherwise extricate himself from his difficulties, but by the force of his arms. They protested to me afterwards, that they saw with grief the bad dispositions of the council towards this prince. These words I have always believed to be sincere, although spoke in a court where, next to gallantry, nothing was so much cultivated as falshood.

WHATEVER were the queen-mother's * intentions, she returned without obtaining any thing; and Joyeuse with an army took her place. The conduct of an army entrusted to Joyeuse was a second mystery: Was it to mortify the heads of the league, who had better pretensions to this command than him, or to ruin them entirely, if the new general had succeeded? Was it, on the contrary, the disco-

* "After a long conversation, the queen-mother asking him if "the trouble she had been at was to produce no other fruit, she who "loved nothing so much as peace; he answered, Madam, I am not "the cause of it; it is not I who hinders you from sleeping in your "bed, it is you that prevents me from resting in mine; the trouble "you give yourself pleases, and nourishes you; peace is the greatest "enemy of your life." Perefixe, part i.

very of his connections with the league, that induced the king to give him a post, wherein he was assured this ungrateful man would perish, or at least miscarry? Or was it only to remove a favourite from his presence, who had now a rival in his affections; for it is often a mere trifle, that produces effects which are always attributed to the most solid causes: but was it not rather to enhance the lustre of his favour by an employment so distinguished? Such was the spirit of the court, that conjectures, the most opposite, were supported by equal probabilities. What seems, however, to determine in favour of the last supposition, is, that the army which Joyeuse commanded was composed of the best forces in the kingdom, was filled with the flower of the nobility, and plentifully provided with whatever could contribute towards rendering it victorious.

THE king of Navarre employed himself chiefly in putting Saint Maixant in a condition of defence; he went thither with so much haste and precipitation, that sinking under his watching and fatigue, he was obliged, in his return to Rochelle, to throw himself into a waggon drawn by oxen, where he slept as in a bed. To prevent the provision with which he had stored Saint Maixant from being consumed, he ordered the two regiments of ‖ Charbonnieres, and des Bories, which had been appointed to defend it, to be posted at La Motte Sainte-Eloi, and there to expect the enemy's arrival. All these precautions could not prevent the reduction of this last place, and its castle, nor that of St. Maixant, Maillezais, and many others, any more than the defeat of several companies, amongst others that belonged to Despueilles, which was beat almost within sight of Rochelle. The cruel behaviour of the conquerors made these misfortunes still more affecting; all we could do in revenge, was to fall upon the wag-

‖ Gabriel Prevot of Charbonnieres.

gons

gons and the ſtragglers, during the marches of this army.

One day, as the duke of Joyeuſe led his army back again from Saintes to Niort, I poſted myſelf with fifty horſe in the foreſt of Benon, near the great road, to wait for an opportunity of ſtriking ſome blow. A ſoldier whom I had directed to climb up a tree, to obſerve the order and motion of the enemy's army, told us, that he ſaw a detachment advancing ſome paces before the firſt battalions. Thoſe who accompanied me were for falling upon this detachment, which they ſuppoſed it would not be difficult to ſubdue, before any aſſiſtance could come up to it. I did not reliſh this propoſal. I remembered a maxim of the king of Navarre's, that to attack a party when the whole army was near, ſeldom ſucceeded; and I reſtrained the ardour of my troop, who burnt with an eager deſire to come to blows with them. We ſaw this detachment paſs by, and afterwards the whole army, the battalions of which we could eaſily count. The laſt ranks marched ſo cloſe, that I was of opinion there was nothing to be done; but as we were ready to make our retreat, the centinel informed us, that he ſaw two ſmall ſquadrons of fifty or ſixty horſe each, that marched at a great diſtance from each other. I would have ſuffered the firſt to paſs by, but it was impoſſible now to reſtrain the impetuoſity of the ſoldiers; we fell upon the firſt with ſuch fury, that we left twelve or fifteen dead upon the place, took as many priſoners, and the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight. But how greatly was I mortified that I had not followed my own opinion, when I found the ſecond troop was compoſed of fifty of the principal officers of the catholic army, with the duke of Joyeuſe himſelf at their head, he having ſtopped at ‖ Surgeres, to refreſh himſelf with a collation there.

‖ A town in the county of Aunis.

When

When I gave the king of Navarre an account of this action, he told me ſmiling, that he perceived I was willing to ſpare the duke's ſquadron, on account of my two brothers who were with him. One of them having an inclination to ſee Rochelle, I obtained a paſſport for him, and conducted him every where. I went to Niort ſoon after, where the enemy's army lay, to agree upon terms of a combat that had been propoſed between the Albanois of captain Mercure's company, and a like number of Scots under the command of Ouïmes; but the duke of Joyeuſe would not permit it to be executed.

I FOUND this general gloomy and diſcontented, and gueſſed ſo truly the cauſe of his uneaſineſs, that when he told me he ſhould ſoon ſet out for § Montreſor, I replied without heſitation, that he could go very eaſily from thence to the court. At theſe words he turned towards my brother, as accuſing him of having revealed what had paſſed. Though he knew that there was nothing in it, he imagined his diſgrace was certain, ſince the report of it had already reached Rochelle; and it was this, I believe, that confirmed him in his reſolution to go and deſtroy, by his preſence, the cabals of his enemies. However, he concealed his ſentiments, and coldly anſwered, that I ſuffered myſelf to be deceived by my too great diſcernment; and endeavoured to perſuade me, that he had no intentions of returning to Paris: but I was ſo well aſſured of the contrary, that I went back immediately to the king of Navarre, to concert with him proper meaſures for drawing ſome advantage from an abſence which would leave the catholic army without leaders; for I did not doubt but many of the general officers would take this journey likewiſe: in effect, Joyeuſe was no ſooner ſet out, than his whole army, already badly diſciplined, lived without order and obedience.

§ In Touraine.

THE

THE king of Navarre, who had secretly assembled twelve hundred men, which he had drawn out of his garrisons, fell so seasonably upon the companies of Vic, of Bellemaniere, the marquis of Resnel, Ronsey, and Pienne, and even upon that of the duke of Joyeuse, that finding part of them in bed, and part at the table, he cut them all in pieces. He oftener than once alarmed the whole army, which was now under the command of Lavardin. He followed it to la Haye in Touraine, and found means to keep it, as it were, besieged during four or five days. If on this occasion he had had forces sufficient to have enabled him to keep his post longer, it is my opinion, that hunger would have delivered the whole army into his power, the soldiers spreading themselves over the villages, and neglecting their safety to get provisions. We passed the river, and surprized them every moment.

DURING this short space of time, we killed and took above six hundred men. With six horse only, I went into a village full of soldiers; they were so accustomed to be beaten, that I ordered the arms of those who were at the tables, and upon the beds, to be seized, and their matches to be put out, without their offering to repulse us, although they were forty in number. I brought them to the king of Navarre, and they enlisted in his troops.

THE count of Soissons *, who was discontented with the court, had long given the king of Navarre hopes, that he would come over to his party, and this prince neglected nothing that could keep him in this favourable disposition. The negligence of the catholic army afforded them both the opportunity they waited for. The count of Soissons took the road towards the Loire, and the king of Navarre sent

* Charles of Bourbon, fourth son of Lewis I. prince of Condé, who was slain at Jarnac, and brother to Henry I. prince of Condé, of Francis, prince of Conti, and the young cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, but by another mother, Frances d'Orleans de Longueville.

all

all his troops to Rosiers to facilitate this prince's passage over the river. They served him likewise to seize the baggage of the duke de Mercœur; the great convoy that escorted it, was attacked so suddenly near a bank, that they surrendered without striking a blow; and the baggage, which was extremely rich, was entirely pillaged. My part of the booty amounted to two thousand crowns. My brothers were no longer in this army; I had obtained a passport for them to leave la Haye.

THIS service was repaid by another of the same kind; they procured me a passport for Paris, whither a pressing occasion called me. At this time the persecution against the protestants was at its height. On which side soever they turned, inevitable ruin awaited them: in the villages, where every one became a soldier, in order to pillage, their houses could not secure them from the fury of their persecutors; and in Paris, and other great cities, they were exposed to rigorous searches, which the zeal of religion inspired, and the desire of being enriched by their spoils made but too severely executed. Princes will often see themselves subjected to misfortunes like these, while they know not how far their rights * and duties with regard to religion extend. They cannot punish with too much severity, a crime by which nature, society, or the laws, are wounded.

* 'Tis true, it never has been demonstrated, that religion obliges sovereigns to persecute those who make profession of another faith, but this does not hinder the maxims which the duke of Sully establishes here from being very dangerous, in that they seem to discharge kings from that indispensable obligation they are under to preserve the true religion; an obligation which includes that of making the worship, and all the exterior practices of it, to be exactly observed; which is equally conformable to the principles of a wise policy, as to those of religion; a fatal experience having but too well shewn, that it is much more necessary to prevent all disputes upon matters of religion, than to silence them when they are begun. After the confession monsieur de Sully so often makes in his Memoirs of that spirit of revolt, and independence, which conducted all the steps of the calvinist party in France, it is strange he is not sensible that, according to his own maxims, this body deserved to suffer all the rigour of

A religion that is capable of authorizing such actions, becomes necessarily the object of all the rigour of their justice; and then only is religion subjected to the power of crowned heads; but their jurisdiction does not extend over consciences, in that precept that regards our love of God, the different comments of which form the difference of religions. The sovereign Lord of all reserves to himself whatever relates to speculation, and leaves to princes all that tends to destroy the common practice of it. Ignorance, or contempt of this maxim, was the cause of great misery to the protestants: those whose estates were large enough to admit of their living in Paris, chose that as the least dangerous way, because of the ease with which they could keep themselves unknown in a city so full of tumult and confusion.

My wife had retired thither some time, having used the precaution to take a borrowed name; to her was added, besides the common misfortunes, that of being far advanced in her pregnancy, during which she wanted all kinds of conveniencies. When I supposed she drew near her time, the apprehensions of what might happen to her in this condition, made me resolve to take a journey to Paris. I found her just delivered of a son, to whom I gave for godfather the lord of Rueres, then a prisoner in the jail of the parliament, and the child was carried from the baptismal font to church, by a citizen named Chaufaille and his wife; for the protestants did not cease to meet in churches, and hold assemblies, notwithstanding the severe informations that were made against them. At this very time, several women were burnt upon that occasion; the dangers I ran myself were extremely great, and I avoided them only by not

of the law. This place, in my opinion, sufficiently justifies what I have said in the preface to this work, that it is more proper to relate all the author's sentiments in theology, than to suppress them. It is not possible to understand his meaning here upon the subject of charity. Obscurity is generally a proof of false principles, and weak reasoning.

being

being known, which was indeed an amazing instance of good fortune.

At last the number of spies increasing in all parts of the city, the search was so diligent that nothing could escape. I did not think it possible to stay any longer in Paris, without exposing myself to evident danger. I left it therefore alone, and in disguise, and fled to Villepreux; and from thence I took a bye-road to Rosny.

The duke of Joyeuse had been received in Paris with praises and acclamations, which ought to have made him blush in secret for not having deserved them. They did not, however, hinder him from being sensibly affected with the defeat of his army, of which he was soon informed. He endeavoured by all possible means to make satisfaction for this loss, which in the disposition the king was in with regard to him, was not a difficult task. His arrival had disconcerted all the secret practices of his enemies, and his favour † with Henry was risen to such a height, that he could refuse him nothing. All the courtiers attached themselves to him, and he set out again for Guienne with the flower of the French nobility, while several other bodies of troops, taking separate ways, assembled at the rendezvous he had appointed for them.

These different marches of the troops made the roads so dangerous, that I found no other means of returning to Rochelle, but by altering the date of my passport, which was expired. By this little fraud I got safe to the king of Navarre, whom I found employed in taking measures to prevent the dreadful storm he saw ready to burst upon him. He drew together all the soldiers he could find in Poitou,

" † In his embassy to Rome, he was treated as the king's brother: " he had a heart worthy of his great fortune. One day having made " the two secretaries of state wait too long in the king's anti-cham- " ber, he excused himself by resigning up to them a hundred thou- " sand crowns which the king had just given him." Notes upon the Henriade.

Anjou,

Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, and sent orders to the prince of Condé, the count of Soissons, messieurs de Turenne, de la Trémouille, and Rochefoucault, to join him with all the forces they had: yet, with all these supplies, his troops were greatly inferior to those of the duke of Joyeuse. They only served to put him in a condition of opening a way through Guienne, Languedoc, and the Lyonnois, towards the source of the Loire, where he depended upon meeting the German auxiliaries. He made use of all his endeavours to accomplish this junction, before the troops of Joyeuse were all joined. This prince, therefore, advanced with his army towards Montlieu, Montguyon, and la Roche-Chalais ‡, but always closely followed and watched by the enemy's general, who having penetrated into his design, thought he ought not to wait for the arrival of the marechal de Matignon, nor of several other regiments that were coming to join him, lest he should lose an opportunity, which he might never be able to recover. His forces were already so much superior to the king of Navarre's, that this resolution could not be accused of rashness and temerity; and the king, who never hazarded a dangerous action, but when obliged to it by necessity, instead of seeking the battle, thought of nothing but how to get the river between them, that he might pursue his march without opposition, and gain the Dordogne, upon which he had several strong forts which might stop the enemy's pursuit.

WITH these dispositions on both sides, the king of Navarre arrived at the pass of Chalais and Aubeterre. It was of great importance to him to gain Coutras §, a post that might favour this passage, and no less to Joyeuse to hinder it. He sent Lavardin to possess

‡ Cities upon the borders of Saintonge, of Guienne, and Perigord, as were Chalais, and Aubeterre.

§ Coutras, a city of Guienne, upon the borders also of Perigord, at the confluence of the rivers of Lille and Droume.

himself

himself of it; but la Frémouille, being more diligent, prevented him, and maintained himself in it, after a very sharp skirmish. The king of Navarre resolved to take advantage of this post to attempt the pass, and marched thither in the night, reserving to himself the care of conducting the troops over, and left that of the baggage, particularly the artillery, to Clermont, Bois-du-Lys, Mignonville, and me. As it was necessary to make use of all possible dispatch, we set ourselves to work immediately, having the water up to our knees. One half was already got to the other side of the river, when the scouts, whom the king of Navarre had sent during the night to make discoveries, returned with some prisoners they had taken, and informed us, that Joyeuse, having resolved to force the king of Navarre to a battle, had marched all night, and would be up with him at furthest by seven or eight o'clock in the morning. This intelligence convinced the king that our labour was not only useless, but extremely dangerous, because if found by the enemy employed in passing the river, that part of his troops which should remain on this side of it must be inevitably defeated, as it could receive no assistance from the troops on the other. Those who had already got over, were ordered to return immediately. Our labour was now redoubled, and to add to it, we lost Mignonville ‖, for whom the king had occasion. Although we were extremely weakened by the fatigue we had suffered, yet that did not hinder the king from pointing out to us an eminence, upon which he expressed a wish that his artillery could have been placed, but durst not hope that we should have time to gain it. In effect, we already discovered the enemy's van.

‖ Mignonville, who was slain soon after before Nonancour, when Henry IV. stormed that city. He was marechal de camp, and an excellent officer. Henry had a great number of subaltern officers of uncommon merit and abilities in his army; such were Montgomery, Bellezuns, Montausier, Vaudoré, des Ageaux, Favas, whom the historians, in relating this battle, have mentioned with honour.

Luckily

Luckily Joyeuse, who without doubt was not sufficiently acquainted with the ground, or suffered himself to be too far transported by his ardour, had given orders for fixing his artillery in a place so low, that afterwards finding it would be useless, he caused it to be removed, and by that means gave us leisure to place our own. It must be confessed, that this general, by some means or other, drew but little advantage from his artillery, and that this was one of the chief causes of his losing the battle. This shews, that there is nothing more necessary for the general of an army than an exact and piercing sight, which shortens distances, and prevents confusion. I never knew a general that possessed this quality in an equal degree with the king of Navarre *.

THE § battle was already began, before our artillery, which consisted only of three pieces of cannon, was fixed, and we had soon occasion for it. The troops in monsieur de Turenne's quarter behaved very ill; that of la Trémouille was forced the first shock, which was beginning to throw the whole army into disorder. The catholics cried out victory; and indeed they wanted but little of being victorious; but at the same moment our artillery began to play, and so terrible † was the fire, that

* Le Grain makes him pronounce this military harangue to his soldiers, "My friends, behold here a prey much more considerable "than any of your former booties; it is a bridegroom, who has still "the nuptial portion in his pocket, and all the chief courtiers with "him." Dec. of Henry the Great, book iv.

§ It began the 20th of October, at nine o'clock in the morning, and was ended at ten. The victory was complete, five thousand of the enemy were left dead upon the place, and five hundred taken prisoners. In the king of Navarre's army, there were but very few soldiers slain, and not one prisoner of distinction. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Mem. of du Plessis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. p. 533. Father Daniel, in his history of France, vol. IX. 4to. gives an exact description of the battle of Coutras. I could have wished to have transcribed the whole article here.

"† The first fire of the artillery, says le Grain, carried off seven "captains of the regiment of Picardy, the best and most warlike in "the duke's army." Book iv.

every

every discharge carried away twelve, fifteen, and sometimes five and twenty men. It put a stop immediately to the impetuosity of the enemies, and reduced them to such an extremity, that seeking to avoid the fire, they dispersed, and offered only a disorderly and ill-sustained body to the efforts of the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and the count of Soissons, who scoured the field at the head of three squadrons. These three princes ‡ performed prodigies of valour in this battle; they overthrew all that opposed them, and striding over the bodies of the dead to meet new dangers, their arms were all batter'd with blows. The face of things was changed in an instant, and the death of the catholic general ‖ gave the protestants a complete victory.

As soon as I beheld the enemy fly, I abandoned the cannon, which were now useless, and mounting a horse which Bois-breuil kept ready for me behind the artillery, I flew to learn tidings of my brothers, and I had the consolation to hear, that neither of them had been in the battle. I met the king of Navarre busy in dispersing * the fugitives, and completing his victory, which he did, not thinking himself secure while there remained any to

‡ All I shall say to you," said the king of Navarre to them "is, that you are of the house of Bourbon, and, please God, I will "shew you, that I am your eldest brother."

His valour was that day far superior to all the others. He wore a plume of white feathers on his helmet, to make himself remarkable. Some of his friends throwing themselves before him, to defend and cover his person, he cried, "Give me room, I beseech you; you "stifle me; I would be seen." He forced the first ranks of the enemy, took several prisoners with his own hand, and collared an officer named Château Regnard, cornet of a company of foot; saying, Yield thee, Philistine. Perefixe, ibid.

‖ Slain in cold blood, by la Mothe St. Henry; others say, by two captains of foot, named Bordeaux, and Descentiers.

* Some persons seeing the fugitives halt, came and told him, that the marechal de Matignon's army was in sight: he received those tidings as a new subject of glory, and turning courageously to his men, Let us go, my friends, said he: two battles in one day, is what has never before been seen. Perefixe, ibid.

oppose

oppoſe him. The bodies of Joyeuſe and St. Sauveur his brother †, were drawn from beneath a heap of carcaſes, and laid upon a table in the hall of the caſtle of Coutras, and a coarſe ſheet thrown over them ‡.

BOOK III.

THAT the proteſtant party might have derived great advantages from the victory of Coutras, and that they did not, is equally true. I am ſincere enough to confeſs, that the king of Navarre did not, upon this occaſion, do all he might with a victorious army, and maſter of the field: if he had advanced to meet the foreign auxiliaries, nothing could have prevented their junction; and, after a ſtroke ſo important, his party would have at leaſt been equal to the catholics. 'Tis certain, that the true value of a moment is never known, the wiſeſt are deceived §.

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† Claude de Joyeuſe, the youngeſt of ſeven ſons of William duke of Joyeuſe.

‡ The following is an anecdote, the truth of which I cannot anſwer for. However, the reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee it here; I met with it in the Memoirs of Amelot de la Houſſaye, vol. II. p. 443. who relates it as drawn from the hiſtory of the lords of Enghien, by Colins. This author ſpeaks thus, "The king of Navarre gained the victory, to the great ſatisfaction of the king of France, who ſecretly correſponded with the victorious army, through the faithful interpoſition of the marquis of Roſny, of the houſe of Bethune, now duke of Sully, who remained unknown at Paris." This author ſeems to have been acquainted with the duke of Sully's ſecret negotiations with Henry III. already mentioned; but he is miſtaken in this, that theſe negotiations produced no effect, ſince the duke of Joyeuſe was ſtill highly favoured by this prince, at leaſt if we may believe monſieur de Sully, who ought to know better than any other: And that Sully could not be at Paris, becauſe he was at the battle; and that even the laſt journey he took there, ſome time before, had no other motive than the deſire of ſeeing and aſſiſting his wife.

§ Our beſt hiſtorians agree in theſe two things, that the king of Navarre knew not how to take the advantage of his victory, and that he did not do all he might have done. D'Aubigné is almoſt the only

The ambitious designs, and self-interested views of the several leaders in the victorious army, snatched from the king of Navarre the fruits of his victory; but this is a truth few people are acquainted with.

THE prince of Condé being seduced by the advice of Trémouille, thought the time was now come, when he could execute the bold scheme he had long before meditated, which was to dismember the crown of France of Anjou, Poitou, the countries of Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, to compose of them an independent sovereignty. With this view, he hastily withdrew the troops he had brought to the general army, and turned all his thoughts to the reduction of Saintes and Brouage, which he flattered himself he should be master of at the first alarm; and that afterwards, nothing would be able to oppose him. So true it is, that ambition resembles that bird in the fable, who has a strong wing, and an insatiable hunger †.

person who exculpates this prince's officers, and lays the blame wholly upon him. Vol. III. b. i. c. xv.

† The duke of Sully does not agree here with d'Aubigné, du Plessis Mornay, and the author of the life of the duke of Bouillon; it is probable he had better memoirs than them all, with regard to the design he attributes to the prince and the duke on this occasion; but I am afraid, there was some prejudice and passion on his side. In my opinion, monsieur de Thou is better able than any other person to decide this question: speaking of the consequences of the battle of Coutras, he says, that a council being assembled to deliberate upon what measures were necessary to be taken, the prince of Condé proposed, that they should go to meet the foreign troops along the side of the Loire, and secure them a passage over this river, by seizing Saumur; that this advice was not followed, for reasons which he relates, and which are very bad; and it was agreed only, that the prince of Condé should go, with what troops they could spare him, to join to the German army towards the source of the Loire, taking his way thro' the heart of Angoumois and Limosin. That the king of Navarre, on his side, seeing himself abandoned by the greatest part of the nobility of Poitou and Saintonge, marched towards St. Foi in Agenois, from whence he took the route to Pau, leaving the conduct of his little army to the viscount de Turenne; who not willing to let the soldiers be idle, besieged Sarlat in Perigord, designing at least to lay it under contribution, if he could not take it. This is what de Thou says, to which may be added, a very important circumstance, and at the same time a very true one, since neither the duke of

THE viſcount Turenne having the ſame deſigns upon the Limoſin, and Perigord, where he already poſſeſſed great eſtates, purſued the ſame conduct with the prince of Condé; and obliging all his troops (which alone compoſed one third of the army) to follow him, led them to the ſiege of Sarlat, ſoothing them with hopes that this expedition would enrich even the meaneſt ſoilder. He fully juſtified the proverb, that great promiſers perform the leaſt: the check he received before this little paltry town, ought to have convinced him in time of the vanity of his pretenſions. The viſcount had no one to accuſe but himſelf for this misfortune; as for the king of Navarre, he had acted quite contrary to his advice.

THE count of Soiſſons concealed his deſigns with more art; however, it is certain, that his new attachment to the king of Navarre was not ſincere, and that it was intereſt alone which induced him to it. He had gained the heart of the princeſs Cathe-

of Bouillon, nor his apologiſts, could contradict it: which is, that it was the viſcount himſelf who rejected the prince of Condé's prudent advice. From all this it follows, that the prince of Condé was not guilty of what he is here accuſed of, which is further confirmed by d'Aubigné, who adds, that it was upon a promiſe the king of Navarre made him to join him ſoon, that he advanced to Angoumois, where he waited a long time to no purpoſe. The prince, however, is not cleared of having had likewiſe views of independence, of which no hiſtorian doubts.

Although the viſcount Turenne appears to have acted upon this occaſion in conſequence of the reſolution of a general council; yet, in my opinion, we are not the leſs authorized to think diſadvantageouſly of him. It is bad reaſoning in Marſolier to grant on one ſide, that he was inſtigated by his ambition to wicked deſigns, and on the other ſide to complain, that thoſe deſigns are ſuppoſed the motives of his conduct. This is to deſtroy the idea he would give us of the duke of Bouillon, as of the greateſt politician of his time. Theſe raſh judgments are condemned by religion, but are allowed by the laws of hiſtory; and political conjectures are often reduced to this foundation alone.

As for what has been ſaid in the ſame place againſt the count of Soiſſons, it is, and will be ſtill more ſupported hereafter by unanſwerable proofs. De Thou, book lxxxvii. Memoirs du Pleſſis, book i. D'Aubigné, vol. III. chap. xv. Marſolier's Hiſtory of Henry duke of Bouillon, vol. I. book iii.

rine, the king's ſiſter, and he was continually expreſſing to this prince, the earneſt deſire he had of uniting himſelf more cloſely to him by marriage; but this deſign concealed another too ſhameful for him to ſuffer to appear. His pretenſions by this marriage were, to ſubſtitute himſelf in the place of the king of Navarre; and as he ſaw no probability that this prince, having the pope, Spain, and the French catholics for his enemies, ſhould ever accompliſh his deſigns, he depended upon enriching himſelf with his ſpoils, and upon gaining, at leaſt, the great eſtates which make up the apenage of the houſe of Albret on this ſide the Loire. Such being his intentions, he took care neither to aſſiſt him with his advice, or his arm, to puſh his laſt victory further; on the contrary, he ſeized that moment to preſs him ſo earneſtly to allow him to go to Bearn to viſit the princeſs his ſiſter, that the king, ſeeing himſelf in a more deſtitute condition than if he had loſt the battle, thought he was obliged, in gratitude for the aſſiſtance the count had given him, to grant him this ſatisfaction. He himſelf was alſo dragged thither (and the count was not ignorant of it) by a paſſion which had always been the weakneſs of this prince. Love called him back to the counteſs of Guiche, to lay at her feet the colours he had taken from the enemy, which he had cauſed to be ſet apart for that purpoſe.

Accordingly they took the road together to Bearn. Happily this unſeaſonable journey did not produce all the diſadvantages that might have been reaſonably expected from it: it was ſo far of uſe to the king of Navarre, as to give him a more perfect knowledge of the perſon on whom he was going to beſtow his ſiſter. The count of Soiſſons could not ſo well diſſemble his ſentiments, but that the king guéſſed at ſome part of them; and a letter, which he received from Paris, fully revealed them. By this letter he was informed, that the count of Soiſ-

ſons

ſons had taken this ſtep purely at the inſtigation of the eccleſiaſtics, who had fallen upon this ſtratagem to deprive him of all his poſſeſſions: that the count had ſolemnly ſworn to them, as ſoon as he had married the princeſs, he would bring her with him to Paris, and abandon for ever the party of his benefactor, and afterwards concert meaſures with them to finiſh the reſt. The king of Navarre received this letter at his return from hunting, when he was juſt ready to fall into the ſnare that was laid for him; and it gave him an averſion to the count, which nothing was ever able to remove. He broke with him, and regretted too late, that he had abandoned himſelf to his advice.

I HAD not the mortification of being a witneſs to all theſe reſolutions which were taken after the battle of Coutras, and which I ſhould in vain have oppoſed. Some days before theſe extravagant and ſenſeleſs ſchemes had poſſeſſed the minds of the principal officers in our army, the king of Navarre took me aſide, in a garden, and aſked my opinion concerning the condition into which this laſt action had put his affairs. I told him, that I thought it neceſſary he ſhould march immediately with all his force towards the ſource of the Loire, to receive the foreign ſupplies, or, what would anſwer the ſame end, to facilitate their paſſage, by taking poſſeſſion of all the towns on this ſide of the river; and which, except Poitiers and Angoulême, which he might leave, ſeemed not difficult to be won. By this means he would at leaſt ſecure to himſelf the fineſt and beſt provinces, from whence he could not be driven in a ſhort time, nor by very inconſiderable forces.

THE king of Navarre approved of this advice, and appeared reſolved to follow it exactly. He told me, that he had juſt ſent ‖ Montglat to the foreign army, and that ſince he could not go to put himſelf at the head of it, he ardently wiſhed the prince of

‖ Lewis de Harlai, lord of Montglat.

Conti § would accept of that charge; having received letters from this prince, in which he offered to assist him in person: and he added that, under pretence of going to the royal army, the prince of Conti might join the auxiliaries without danger. The king then left to me the care of prevailing upon the prince to take this step, and recommended to me to use all my endeavours to secure the success of it.

I SET out from the army, charged only with a letter of three lines; and sending my equipage to Pons, passed through Maine; where I expected to have found the prince; by means of the acquaintance I had with the governors of those places through which he must pass. I learnt, at my arrival, that the prince of Conti set out by himself two days before; and had not so well concealed his march, but that his intelligence with the foreigners was suspected, which was the cause that the roads were filled with the detachments which were sent after him; and therefore I was obliged to take a circuit, in order to join him, and to pass by Rosny; from whence coming to Neaufle, I was there informed of what had happened. The Germans entering without order, and without guides, into provinces unknown, stopped by large rivers, harrassed continually by the troops of the league, had at length been totally defeated at Auneau *: that the Swiss,

§ Francis de Bourbon, prince of Conti, second son to Lewis I. prince of Condé, and Eleanora de Roye. He died in 1614, leaving no children by his two marriages.

* See a detail of this in de Thou, book lxxxvii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book i. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii, p. 537. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. p. 39. and particularly the Memoirs of the league, vol. I. where it is observed, that at the time this army was encamped near the river Yonne, Montglat came from the king of Navarre, to desire the commanders of it would march towards the source of the Loire, where he would put himself at their head; but they did not think proper to do so. The leaders were, the baron d'Onau, or Dona, Guitry, Clervant, Beauvois la Nocle, &c. If they had obeyed this order, the king of Navarre, then returning from Bearn, would have had time to join them with all his troops, and the army would not

to avoid the like misfortune, had enlisted, to the number of twelve thousand, in the troops of the league: that the king of Navarre was at Bearn, his forces unemployed, and dispersed on all sides.

THIS mournful news stopped my journey, and rendered my commission useless. Nothing now remained for me to do, but to turn back to Rosny; where, while I secretly deplored the fatal consequences of our bad conduct, I feigned, for my security, to take part in the public rejoicings, for the defeat at Auneau. I visited my estates in Normandy; and while I was expecting those remedies, which time, and the king of Navarre's return might bring to our calamities, I learnt that this prince had left Bearn, and I went to join him at Bergerac, where the news of the taking of Castillon consoled him a little, amidst so many causes for affliction. The siege of this place had cost the duke of Maïenne a million of crowns, and the viscount Turenne retook it for less than two ‖.

A LITTLE time afterwards, we were informed of two accidents that were likely enough to change the face of affairs; one was the death of the prince of Condé §, a death as sudden as tragical: the imprisonment of some of his chief attendants, and the

not have been defeated. Davila, in his eighth book, relates the duke of Guise's reply to the duke of Maïenne, who was sensible of the danger of attacking an enemy so much superior in number: "Those, "said he, that do not care to fight, may stay here. What I cannot "resolve upon in half an hour, I never resolve on my whole life."

‖ By means of a ladder of cords.

§ Notwithstanding the secret jealousy that subsisted between the prince of Condé and the king of Navarre, yet the king was extremely afflicted for his loss, and shutting himself up in his cabinet with the count of Soissons, he was heard to send forth great cries, and to say, "That he had lost his right hand." Perefixe, History of Henry the great, part I. This prince was called Henry, and was son to Lewis of Bourbon, first prince of Condé. He had no children by his first wife; after whom he married Charlotte Catherine de la Trémouille, whom at his death he left three months gone with child. It is a great error which was spread among the people, that Henry of Condé, the twelfth of that name, was born thirteen months after the death of his father. He was born the 1st of September following.

punishment of one of his domestics *, who was torn to pieces by four horses, left no room to doubt that he died by poison. The news of the populace rising †

* The name of this domestic was Brillant. One of his pages was executed in effigy. The princess herself was comprehended in this accusation. René Cumont, the lieutenant-particulier of St. Jean, commenced a process against her, which was suspended on account of the birth of Henry II. prince of Condé. After six years imprisonment, the princess presented a petition to the parliament of Paris, who brought this affair before their tribunal, and acquitted Charlotte Catherine de la Trémouille of the crime of which she was accused. The prince of Condé died at St. John d'Angely, March the 5th, 1588, aged thirty-five years. De Thou, book xc. Morisot, I know not upon what authority, says, that the death of the prince of Condé might be occasioned by a wound he received in his side, by a lance, at the battle of Coutras. Henry Magn. cap. xii. p. 27.

† I shall not give a detail of it here, as it would be too long, and may besides be found in a great many other books. It is sufficient to say, that Henry III. to prevent the dangerous designs of the league, having ordered about six thousand troops, the most part Swiss, to enter Paris, and spreading them in different quarters of the city, the people rose, and being kept together by some of the chiefs of the league, fortified themselves in the streets, repulsed the soldiers, disarmed the Swiss, defeated the king's guards, and carried the barricades within fifty paces of the Louvre, &c. Henry III. seeing himself ready to be besieged in the Louvre, and not willing to expose himself to the violence of an enraged populace, went out privately by the Tuilleries, and the suburb Mantmantre, from whence he got to Chartres. The affair was afterwards turned into a negotiation between the queen-mother and the duke of Guise, and the absolute decision of it remitted to the states of Blois.

I observe, after d'Aubigne, that it was very fortunate for Henry III. that his troops seized and kept possession of the suburb St. Honore, and the back of the Tuilleries; and that no one of the league thought of seizing these quarters. Those who guarded the gate of Nesse fired at a distance upon the king's troop, and seeing the ferry-boat of the Tuilleries approach, in which they supposed the king to be, cut the cable. Chronol. Noven. tom. I.

Henry III. was on his side guilty of a much greater fault, in forbidding Grillon, colonel of the French guards, to take possession of the square Maubert, and the quarter of the university, and by hindering his soldiers from firing upon the populace; who, by a step more firm and seasonable, might have been retained in their duty. The duke of Guise waited six whole days at Soissons, not daring to come to Paris, contrary to the king's orders, which were signified to him by Bellièvre, in two letters that he sent him at different times by the post. They were to blame, as Matthieu the historian also observes, vol. I. book viii. for not sending these letters by an express to the duke of Guise; for the duke imagined, that he might elude this order, by denying he had received the letters, as in effect he did at the queen's palace,

at Paris †, and barricading the ſtreets, and of the king's departure from that city, followed ſoon after,

lace, in the preſence of the king and Belliévre, to whom he proteſted, with deep oaths, that they were never delivered to him. This fault was not committed through negligence, but becauſe they had not five and twenty crowns to ſpare to pay the courier for his journey.

Henry III. was adviſed by the duke of Epernon, to ſuffer his guards to aſſaſſinate the duke of Guiſe as he came to the Louvre; and this prince, they ſay, would have engaged la Gueſle and Villequier in the deſign, but they diſſuaded him from it. It is reported alſo, that the ſame day, wherein the ſtreets were barricaded, Alphonſo d'Ornano aſſured him, he would bring him the head of the duke of Guiſe, if he would permit him. In a word, it is thought, that the king did not make uſe of half the precautions he might have done, informed as he was of all the deſigns of the league, having himſelf narrowly miſſed being taken as he was going to Vincennes: and had juſt been convinced by what had happened at the impriſonment of la Morliere, a famous leaguer, that the people only waited for an opportunity of inſulting him. The king's council acted without compariſon better in that affair of la Morliere, than on the day of the barricades. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Satyr. Menip.

The duke's deſign in this enterprize has given riſe to great diſputes, which I cannot here enter into a detail of; in this, as in all other dubious matters, much has been ſaid pro and con. Thoſe who will have it, that he intended to carry, or ſuffer the people to carry things to an extremity, to ſeize the king's perſon, in a word, to put the crown upon his own head, ſupport their aſſertions by ſome writings of great conſequence, to which I am obliged to refer the reader. See the firſt vol. of the Memoirs of the league, and the vol. marked 8866, in the king's library: the chief of which are, A letter written to him by the ducheſs of Lorrain, after the victory of Auneau, in which ſhe adviſes him to make uſe of the preſent opportunity to declare himſelf king, &c. A letter written by the duke himſelf the next day after the fortifications in the ſtreets of Paris, to the governor of Orleans, wherein are theſe words, "I have vanquiſhed the Swiſs, cut in pieces part of "the king's guards, and hold the Louvre ſo cloſely inveſted, that I "ſhall be able to give a good account of thoſe that are within. This "victory is ſo great, that it will never be forgot," &c. Many other letters, in which he mentions the king very diſreſpectfully, and the princes of the blood with the utmoſt contempt; to this they add, the diſcontent the duke diſcovered, and the reproaches he made the queen-mother, for having amuſed him with conferences, while his prey eſcaped him. In fine, the writings that were, ſay they, publiſhed by his commands; wherein was attempted to be proved, the pretended right the houſe of Lorrain had to the crown, not to mention an infinite number of other pieces, which were indeed but ſo many ſatirical libels againſt Francis duke of Guiſe, reproaching him with having attempted to aſſert his chimerical claims upon Anjou and Provence; and the cardinal his brother, with endeavouring to make himſelf ſovereign of Metz, under the protection of the emperor, a project which

† Thurſday May 12.

and was ſpread every where by the courier, who was ſent with an account of it to the duke of Epernon.

the vigilance of Salcede prevented the execution of; but he loſt his head for it: and for having treated about religion with the king of Spain, at the council of Trent, without his maſter's participation. The greateſt part of theſe writings are ſtill in every body's hands.

For the duke's juſtification they bring thoſe arguments made uſe of by himſelf in a letter, or a ſort of manifeſto, which he drew up the ſame day, being the 13th of May. He there declares, that the report of the king's intention to fill the city with foreigners, and to fall upon the citizens with them, was the true cauſe of the populace riſing; that, inſtead of ſupporting them, he had made uſe of his utmoſt endeavours, till two hours after midnight, to calm the tumult; that he had preſerved the Swiſs, and prevented the maſſacre; that he had intreated the rebels to reſpect the royal authority; and that, far from attempting any thing againſt the king's perſon, "I might, ſaid he, "have ſtopped him a thouſand times, if I had been inclined to do ſo," &c. Add to this, that in treating with the queen-mother, he required nothing but the deſtruction of the proteſtants, and that religion ſhould be ſecured; and declared likewiſe, that it was not in his own name he treated, but in that of the cardinal of Bourbon, whoſe intereſts he ſupported againſt thoſe of the king of Navarre, and the other princes of the blood.

I do not find it ſufficiently proved againſt the duke of Guiſe, that his deſign was to place himſelf upon the throne, after the death of Henry III. and the cardinal of Bourbon; and this is very extraordinary. What ambitious man, and in his place, could have reſiſted the ſuggeſtions of the pope, the king of Spain, and a great part of Europe, who all conſpired for his elevation? See the duke of Parma's opinion of this event, Davila, book ix. "The duke of Guiſe made ſhew of "doing too much, and in reality did too little: he ought to have re-"membered, that whoever draws his ſword againſt his prince, ought "to have that inſtant thrown away the ſcabbard." Sixtus V. when he received the news, cried out, "Oh that preſumptuous duke, and that weak "king." "The earl of Stafford, ambaſſador from England, (I relate this anecdote in the words of le Grain, book iv.) "being adviſed to take a "ſafe-conduct from the duke of Guiſe, I will have no other ſecurity, "ſaid he, than the law of nations, and the protection of the king to "whom I am ſent, whoſe ſervants and ſubjects you and the duke of "Guiſe both are." The firſt preſident de Harlay anſwered the duke of Guiſe with the ſame firmneſs, That in the king's abſence, he would take his orders from the queen-mother.

There is one piece upon the different conduct of the league and council, before and after the mutiny in Paris, that deſerves to be read, and is entitled, The Verbal Proceſs of Nicolas Poulain, the mayor of Paris, upon the league, from 1585 to 1588. This Nicolas Poulain, who ſecretly favoured the king's party, often gave good advice in this affair, which was never followed. This piece of ſecret hiſtory is to be found in the firſt vol. of the Journal of Henry III's reign, p. 132, and following.

To

To this abject condition a king saw himself reduced; who neither knew how to prevent, to stifle, or to divide factions, who amused himself with conjecturing, when he ought to have acted, who exerted neither prudence nor fortitude, nor was even acquainted with the characters of those whom he commanded, nor those that were nearest his person. The revolutions which happen in great states, are not produced by chance, or the caprice of the people; 'tis a weak and disorderly government that causes rebellions, for the populace never rise through a desire of attacking, but an impatience of suffering.

The just resentment that filled the heart of the king of Navarre, for an insult so cruel, offered to one of his own blood, and which, in some degree, reflected a disgrace upon all crowned heads, effaced in a moment the remembrance of Henry III's injurious treatment of himself. He declared his affliction at it in his council, who all with one voice approved of his resolution to assist and defend the king of France; and he sent his secretary immediately to this prince, to assure him, that he might dispose of his person and troops.

The count of Soissons, whose mind was ingrossed by perpetual chimeras looked upon this event as a stroke of fortune, which by ridding him of all his rivals, would give him the chief sway in the council, and court of Henry III. Changing therefore his battery in an instant, he resolved to go and offer his service to this prince; and to give himself more consequence with him, he sought dependents in the court of the king of Navarre, and from amongst his most affectionate servants, whose fidelity he did not scruple upon this occasion to tempt. The king of Navarre, though he was pretty sensible of all the baseness of this conduct, dissembled his sentiments of it; and reflecting that it would be of use to him to have some person with the count of Soissons, in whom he could confide, to watch all his motions, and study

the new ſyſtem he purſued at court; he commanded me to give ear to this prince's diſcourſe, and to affect a zeal for him that I was very far from feeling. The count of Soiſſons ſuffered himſelf to be eaſily deceived; he congratulated himſelf for having gained me, and treated me with a diſtinction that did not fail to raiſe me ſome enemies, who envied me the ſhare I poſſeſſed of his favour. I accompanied him in his journey, after having received inſtructions from the king of Navarre, and concerted with him thoſe meaſures which his ſervice required me to take upon this occaſion.

During our whole journey, the count continually entertained me with the favour, the magnificence, and the honours that waited him at court. The king of Navarre, he thought, would not even attempt to rival him: amidſt all the ſtrokes of vanity, and inſupportable pride which eſcaped him, there mingled, without his perceiving it, a kind of bitterneſs againſt the king of Navarre, that ſufficiently diſcovered the hatred and antipathy he bore him. I could neither ſubmit to flatter his inclinations, nor to approve of his ridiculous ſchemes; and all my anſwer was, that I foreſaw the diſunion of the royal family, which had already been the cauſe of ſo many misfortunes, would bring France at laſt under the power of the houſe of Auſtria, after it had made them deſtroy each other. A diſcourſe more ſoothing would have been more to his taſte; but mine, however, ſeemed to bear the marks of a ſincere attachment to him, which could not fail of pleaſing.

We arrived at Nogent-le-Rotrou, and afterwards at Mante, where the king of France was. We found him in that reſtleſs and unquiet diſpoſition of mind, which a violent reſentment occaſions, and filled with confuſion for the affront he had ſo lately ſuffered. Notwithſtanding all this, he was ſo incapable of taking the advantage of the change in his affairs *, that

* It is believed, that if Henry III. had acted with more prudence and

even at that very time he made the duke of Epernon admiral, and soon after gave him the government of Normandy, vacant by the death of the marechal Joyeuse. The count of Soissons was received in a manner so different from what he expected, that there needed no more to convince him of the folly of his great projects. The king, addressing himself to me, asked me if I had quitted the king of Navarre's party; I eyaded this perplexing question, by telling him, that in coming to offer my service to his majesty, I did not think myself separated from the king of Navarre, because I was assured, that that prince, whose interests were the same with his, would in a little time do the like. I found this answer did not displease the king; but being surrounded, and carefully observed by persons, on whose countenances it was easy to read the uneasiness which my discourse gave them, he concealed his sentiments. The weakness of this prince was indeed incomprehensible: his real enemies could not be unknown to him, after the audacious manner in which they had so lately taken off the masque; but still feigning ignorance, he again delivered himself up to the queen-mother *;

and steadiness, he would have been still able to retrieve his affairs. It is certain, that the Parisians, in great consternation at his leaving Paris, sent deputies to him at Chartres, to intreat him with every kind of submission to return to that city; and to render this deputation more affecting, they made the capuchins walk in procession, and enter the cathedral with the instruments of the passion, crying Misericordia. The king received them with that air of majesty and authority necessary upon this occasion. He shewed great favour to the deputies from the parliament, which had not been any ways concerned in the affair of the barricades; the others he threatened with a resolution never again to enter Paris, and to deprive it of its charters, and sovereign courts; at which they were so greatly alarmed, that the duke of Guise was obliged to exert all his art and credit to pacify them.

* In the circular letter that Henry III. sent into the provinces, after the action of the barricades, and which began thus, "Dear "and well beloved, you have, as we suppose, heard the reasons that "induced us to leave our city of Paris, the 13th of this month," &c. this prince speaks more like a supplicant than a king; he defends his design of introducing a foreign garrison in Paris, and doubts of the fidelity of the Parisians. He gives a false and bad colour to his flight, and declares that he is ready to begin the war against the

and through her to his persecutors, with whom she reconciled him. Perhaps, however, this last step was in this prince but a stroke of the most profound dissimulation; for the bold † action he committed against the states of Blois, gives us room to believe,

huguenots, at the head of the league. MS. of the royal library, number 8866, 8891.

The author means the conferences which the queen-mother held, by this prince's command, with the cardinal of Bourbon and the duke of Guise; to which were also admitted, as I find in vol. 8906, of the manuscripts in the royal library, the lords de Lansac, Lenoncourt, Des-Chateillers, and Miron, first physician to his majesty, who had been employed in carrying messages between the two parties on the day of the barricades. These conferences were held at Chalons, at Sarry, a house belonging to the bishop of Chalons, at Nemours, &c. The league made most extravagant demands there, such as the entire abolition of the pretended reformed religion, the dismission of all the calvinist officers, even if they abjured; the publication of the council of Trent, the inquisition, &c. and at last obtained all they demanded by the edict of July 21, which was given in consequence of those conferences. Memoirs of the league, vol. I. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. I. Matthieu, vol. I. book viii. Chron. Noven. vol. I. and others.

† The death of the two brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guise, whom this prince caused to be murdered in his own apartments, by his guards, the 23d of December, at Blois, where he held the states. See this murder in the same historians, with a relation of the proceedings and intrigues of both parties in the states of Blois. The cardinal of Bourbon was kept prisoner, the other brothers of the duke of Guise fled.

The duke of Guise perished as the admiral Coligny did; presumption hindered them both from seeing the danger with which they were threatened. The duke heeded none of the warnings that were given him; it is said, that the marchioness of Noirmoûtier, the same lady who made so much noise under the name of madam de Sauves, came on purpose to pass the night with him; and neither by arguments or intreaties, could hinder him from going the next day to the council.

Some persons took upon them to justify Henry III. for this action, among others the cardinal de Joyeuse, in a long memorial upon this subject, which he sent from Rome, where he then was. Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175. But the most judicious of our historians, and even those who have carried the privilege of the royal authority furthest, all detest it. "The shocking circumstances of "the murder of the Guises," says Perefixe, "appeared horrible, "even in the eyes of the huguenots, who said, that it too much re-"sembled the massacre of St. Bartholomew." On the other side, it cannot be denied, that Henry III. had no other way of preserving the crown in his house, and perhaps on his own head; for there is not the

that his revenge was never one moment out of his thoughts: and if one might form any judgment of this assembly, in all appearance, every individual that composed it, had each a secret object in view, to which all their designs tended, and which success discovered in some, and disappointment concealed in others.

the least probability in what Villeroy asserts in his Memoirs, vol. I. p. 25. that the king, without taking that course, might have made himself master of the deliberations of the states of Blois, and have obliged them to comply with his will.

In this alternative one cannot help lamenting the consequences of bad conduct in a prince, which reduces him to such a sad necessity. He was himself a fatal example of this truth, that he who strikes with a knife, shall perish by a knife.

The duke of Guise was almost adored by the catholics, especially the people, who called him always, *Our great man*. He had a scar on the left cheek, below his eye, which only served to make him more respected, because he received it in fighting against the huguenots, at the battle of Château-Thierry, by a pistol-shot from a German trooper. He was, on the contrary, so hated by his own family, whom he treated with an insupportable insolence, and severity, that we are assured his relations, and even his own brothers, through fear of falling under the power of a tyrant, were the persons that sent Henry III. the most certain intelligence of his actions and designs; an intelligence which was suspected by the prince, as that given to the duke by many of the courtiers concerning the king's violent resolution against him, was by him; for they both imagined from thence that the design was to prevail upon them to quit the party, and break with the states of Blois, in which each of them would have found his account. Henry III. at first designed only to arrest the duke of Guise, but he found it would be dangerous, and still more to make him prisoner; therefore he determined to have him poignarded. Both the bodies were consumed in a fire, the bones burnt in a low hall of the castle, and the ashes thrown into the air.

The king of Navarre, who had no hand in this assassination, was the person that gained most by it. In all appearance, while the duke of Guise lived, he would never have obtained the crown. We are assured also, that there were then great designs formed between France and Spain, not only to extirpate the protestant party, but even to dethrone Elizabeth, which the event of the barricades, followed by the death of the duke of Guise, was only able to hinder the execution of. The king of Navarre lamented the fate of the duke of Guise, without blaming Henry III. "I always, said he, foresaw, and said, "that messieurs de Guise would never undertake the enterprize they "had conceived, and bring it to an issue, without endangering their "lives." Cayet, vol. I. fol. 114. Several other persons were of the same opinion. "Cursed be Lorrain," said Hubert de Vins, in the Memoirs of Castelnau, "for his stupidity in supposing, that a king, "whose

THE death of Catherine de Medicis, which happened soon after ‡ the assassination of the duke of Guise; did not afford Henry III. more liberty to follow his inclinations, which led him to unite himself with the king of Navarre. The league was not extinct with the duke of Guise; he had the minds of the people to calm, the grandees to regain, the pope to appease, and Spain to keep in bounds, and the displeasure of all the catholics to assuage, who, after this execution, were very well disposed to question his religion.

HENRY, like all weak men, magnified these difficulties; he flattered himself he should reduce every thing to order by mildness; and therefore publicly asserted his privilege, explained his reasons for what he had done, and loudly justified his conduct. He ought to have employed arms alone against a party, which had no longer any respect for the royal authority; and instead of increasing the presumption of the populace (who in power are no less insolent, than abject in obedience) by a moderation which can only be ascribed to weakness, he ought to have declared himself boldly the assailant, and sought for vengeance like a king. Had he acted in this manner, conjunctly with the king of Navarre, he might, in all probability, have prevented the loss of Orleans, and

" whose crown he was attempting to take away by dissimulation, " would not likewise dissemble with him, to take away his life." " Since they are so near each other," said madam de Fourbin, the sister of de Vins, " we shall hear the very first day, either one or the " other has slain his companion."

The tragical events of the year 1588 have appeared to some to verify the prediction of Regiomontanus, and other astrologers, that this year would be the climacteric of the world. I find in it only a new confirmation of the folly of this ridiculous science.

‡ In the opinions of those who have bestowed so many praises upon this princess, it seemed sufficient to merit the title of a politician, that she knew how to engross the management of all affairs, and to keep herself in possession of authority; but when one reflects, that these supposed abilities, which consisted, however, in making use of unworthy means, and contemptible artifices, brought things at last to such an extremity, that neither she, nor any other, knew any

an infinite number of other * places; nor had he been at last reduced to the cities of Blois, Beaugency, Amboise, Tours, and Saumur.

I WAS either a witness to all these events, or was soon informed of them at Rosny, whither I had retired, as to a place, where I could easily observe whatever passed at court. I left it as soon as I thought it was necessary to give the king of Navarre an account of these transactions. He had not been a little perplexed himself during this interval, in unravelling and overthrowing the schemes of the viscount Turenne; who putting himself in the prince of Condé's place, continued all his projects for himself, and acted in the same manner by the king of Navarre, as the duke of Guise did by Henry III. In an assembly of the protestants, held at Rochelle, he boldly declared, that France, in the present conjuncture, could not possibly avoid seeing her monarchy dismembered; and he gave them to understand that, in the division which would be made of it, he would not forget himself. The king of Navarre complained of this conduct in the same assemblies; and to engage the protestants more firmly to his per-

any longer what remedies to apply to them; it may be justly asserted, that the quality of a politician did not compensate for the numberless faults she committed. It is believed, that the fatal consequences which she apprehended would attend the murder of the Guises, in which she had no part, the cardinal of Bourbon's reproaches, the horror of the present time, and perhaps the stings of her conscience, hastened her death, which happened the 5th of January, 1589. She was forgot soon afterwards. De Thou, book xciv. Her last advice to her son was, to put an end to the persecution against the protestants, and to establish an entire liberty of religion in France. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 132. Brantome's prejudices against this queen renders all he has said to her disadvantage very doubtful, vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 31, and following. Varillas is not more to be believed; when he says, that her death was occasioned by her grief for the murder of the duke, whom she was very fond of. Siri praises her like a foreigner, who was not well acquainted with the affairs of our court in that time; for he came to France long after the death of that queen. Memoirs of Recon di Vittorio Siri, vol. I. p. 26.

"* 'Tis a puff of wind," said Henry III. speaking of those cities, "which has thrown down a pack of cards."

ſon, he joined his actions to words, ſeized upon Garnache, and took Niort by ſtorm, after a bloody and furious battle. It was at his return from this expedition, that he fell dangerouſly ill * at la Mothe-Frêlon.

I TOOK my way through Blois, in order to form my laſt conjectures by the ſituation in which I ſhould find the court. Although I made uſe of all poſſible precautions to avoid being diſcovered by any perſon; yet the marquis of † Rambouillet ſeeing me paſs through the ſtreet, knew me, though wrapt up in my cloak, and ordered me to be watched to my lodging. The marquis was a man of ſtrict honeſty, and had always the good of the ſtate in view, without any conſiderations of ſelf-intereſt: he conceived, that it belonged to him to draw ſome advantage from this rencounter, to make one more effort upon the king's mind, and prevail upon him at length to throw himſelf into the arms of the king of Navarre. He found him in ſuch a diſpoſition as he wiſhed, and the king was the rather induced to employ me upon this occaſion, as he remembered I had already been ſent to him on that buſineſs. Rambouillet coming to me by his order, we concerted together what was neceſſary to be done; after which he preſented me to his majeſty, who confirmed to me himſelf his intentions. The many ineffectual engagements into which he had entered with the king of Navarre, made me think it neceſſary to aſk him for a credential letter to that prince; but he denied this requeſt, out of an apprehenſion that this letter might fall

* He left St. Hermine, in Lower Poitou, in the month of *January*, to go and aſſiſt Garnache, which was beſieged by the duke of Nevers. Du-Pleſſis-Mornay led his troops, and he himſelf marched on foot, as if he was ſhooting. He over-heated himſelf, and was ſeized with a pain in his ſide, attended with a fever, which obliged him to ſtop at the firſt houſe he came to, which belonged to a gentleman called la Mothe-Frêlon. Du-Pleſſis perſuaded him to be let blood, which cured him. Life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, book i. p. 125.

† Nicholas d'Angennes.

into

into the hands of the nuncio Morosini §, or the duke of Nevers, to whom, he said, nothwithstanding the esteem he had for me, he should be obliged to deliver me, if I was discovered in Blois. I gave up this point, therefore; but afterwards demanded, for the security of the king of Navarre, that when he should enter a country full of his enemies, a town might be given him, that would afford him a free passage over the Loire. This, for the same reason, was not granted. I did not attribute these refusals to any bad intention of the king's, but only to the fear he was in of those two men, upon whom he had voluntarily made himself dependent. I did not, however, believe, that the king of Navarre, without this last article was yielded to, would advance with his troops as far as Blois. But this difficulty was removed by Brigneux, the governor of Beaugency, whom I visited before I went away. After telling me, that he saw, with grief, this place, like the rest, would be infallibly lost by the measures the king pursued, he offered to resign the care of it to me, or to Rebours, or any other officer the king of Navarre should approve; adding, that he chose rather to resign his post, and follow this prince as a volunteer only, than to continue in Beaugency, where his advice was not regarded.

After this assurance, I returned immediately to the king of Navarre: this prince listened to me attentively, but not being able to suppress those doubts, which his frequent disappointments from the king

§ John Francis Morosini, bishop of Bresce. Lewis de Gonzague, duke of Nevers. Sixtus V. had just then published a bull of excommunication against Henry, which this prince used his utmost endeavour to get recalled. This pope, who was said to be equally fit to govern a great kingdom as to be the head of the church, secretly approved of that justice which the king of France had executed upon the duke of Guise; but he could not pardon him for involving a cardinal in it. See in Villeroy's Memoirs of State, vol. II. p. 175, the cardinal de Joyeuse's letters already cited. Sixtus V. foretold, that the league would reduce Henry to the necessity of applying to the king of Navarre and the huguenots for assistance.

of France had inspired him with, he often asked me, with an unquiet tone of voice, and irresolute action, if I now really thought the king of France sincere? I protested to him that I believed he was; and added the engagement of Rambouillet. "Well "then, replied the king, I will not take his towns, "while he continues to treat faithfully with me;" for he had taken Châtelleraud that very day. "Re-"turn then, added he, and carry him my letters; "for I neither fear Morosini nor Nevers." Accordingly he made me go with him that moment to breakfast in his closet; and I took post again for Blois.

The king of France, who did not doubt but the king of Navarre's answer would be such as he desired, had, through impatience, advanced as far as Montrichard, with all his train. I found all the lodgings in this little place either taken up or bespoke, so that as I arrived very late, I began to think I should be obliged to pass the night in the street: luckily Maignan found out the marquis of Rambouillet's lodgings, and he provided me with those that had been designed for one of my brothers, who was then at Tours. At midnight I went to the king, who waited for me in a garret of the castle. He approved of, and signed every thing, even to the passage over the Loire; and would have had me to set out again that same night. The report of a treaty between the two kings had already reached Châtelleraud, when I arrived there; and was so passionately desired by the people, that as soon as I appeared, they loaded me with a thousand blessings.

The king of Navarre was already gone from thence. This prince, who depended upon nothing but his sword, being informed that the league had entered † Argenton, marched hastily thither, and arrived so seasonably, that he forced the troops of

† In the Upper Poitou.

the

the league to dislodge, before they had received the supplies necessary to maintain them there. He left Beaupré governor in this place, after I had visited the castle, and put it into a condition of defence.

THE fatigue I had suffered from so many successive journeys, threw me, at my return, into a continued fever, which confined me to my bed twelve days. Du-Plessis took advantage of this accident, to deprive me of the honour of a treaty which he had only the trouble of drawing up, and in which the marquis of Rambouillet ‡ had as great a share as himself. This treaty was signed at Plessis-les-Tours, to the great satisfaction of the two kings. Saumur was the place of security that was agreed upon, and § Du-Plessis did not fail to procure the government of it, as a fit reward for him to whom they were obliged for the success of the treaty.

THIS proceeding appeared to me so extremely unjustifiable, that I complained loudly of Du-Plessis, and even of the king of Navarre himself, who had bestowed the fruit of my labour upon another. The count of Soissons, who never had any regard to the general interest, or took part in the public joy, made use of this circumstance to endeavour to engage me in his new designs; and my two brothers, on the other side, pressed me earnestly to attach myself wholly to the party of the king of France: but I rejected this proposition, nor was my fidelity to my prince to be shaken by all the efforts that were made to seduce me. When I reflected also, that the government of Saumur would have obliged me to a constant residence there, and by consequence have removed me always from the king of Navarre, I found, that what had appeared an act of injustice,

‡ It is but just to inform the reader, that these facts are related very differently in the life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, book i. p. 131; but to which of the writers most credit ought to be given is not easy to decide.

§ Philip Mornay, lord of Plessis-Marly.

was,

-was, in reality, a favour, which merited my acknowledgment.

NOTHING now remained for the two kings to do, but to have a conference together, in order to concert their future enterprizes. For this purpose, the king of Navarre set out from Plessis-les-Tours. Still assaulted by some remains of distrust ‖, which he could with difficulty suppress, he stopped near a mill, about two leagues from the castle, and would know the opinion of each of the gentlemen that composed his train, upon the step he was going to take. I was amongst them, and the remembrance of the injustice, as I then thought it, which he had offered me, keeping me silent: the king of Navarre turning to me, "You say nothing, said he; what are your "thoughts of the matter?" I answered, in a few words, That it was true, the step he was taking was not without danger, because the troops of the king of France were superior to his; but that I looked upon this to be one of those circumstances, in which something ought to be left to chance; and that as for the rest, one ought to content one's self with using all the precautions which prudence could suggest. This prince pausing for a few moments, then turning towards us, "Let us go on *, said he, my "resolution is fixed."

THE king of France came into the field to meet the king of Navarre, and the joy of an union which had been so ardently desired, drew together so great

‖ "His old huguenot officers, they say, were afraid, that at a "time when treachery was so necessary to Henry III. to extricate "him out of the labyrinth into which the action he had committed "at Blois had introduced him (for he had been excommunicated "by Sixtus V.) he would not scruple to purchase his absolution at "the price of the king of Navarre's life." Perefixe, ibid. This prince had often himself said, as de Thou relates, "That he never "went to the king's closet but through the midst of two armies, "ranged on each side."

* He wrote to Du-Plessis-Mornay, in these terms: "Monsieur "Du-Plessis, the ice is broken, not without many warnings, that if "I went I should be a dead man: I passed the water, recommending "myself to God, &c."

a con-

a concourse of people, that the two kings continued above a quarter of an hour, at the distance of fifty paces from each other, without being able to approach nearer: at length the croud giving way, they embraced with equal satisfaction on both sides *, and took the road together to Tours, where the king of Navarre lay one night, and then returned to his quarters at Maillé. As for me, I staid at Tours, being detained by a great number of my friends and relations, whom I found there, and fixed my residence in the suburb St. Symphorien.

THE duke of Maïenne, who had taken arms to revenge the death of the duke of Guise, and to support the interest of the league, had no design to leave us long in quiet, but marched with his whole army towards this city. The king, who had walked as far as † Marmoutier, unarmed, and attended only by twenty horse, narrowly escaped being taken, and was obliged to return precipitately to Tours. The suburbs having no other intrenchments than some slight barricades, erected in haste, by six or seven regiments of royalists, who defended them, I quitted the suburb of St. Symphorien, and ordered all my equipage to be carried into the city. My conduct was by the officers taxed with timidity; but it was not long ere it was sufficiently justified.

THE duke of Maïenne attacked the suburb. He was stopped some moments by means of five or six houses, on the top of the hill, where our people had posted themselves; but they were soon obliged to abandon them, in order to intrench themselves behind the barricades, where expecting soon to be assaulted, they made use of this interval to snatch a hasty refreshment.

* At the bridge of La-Motte, a quarter of a league from Tours: "Courage, my lord, said Henry IV. to Henry III. two Henry's are "worth more than one Carolus." Matthieu, vol. I. p. 152. The duke of Maïenne's name was Charles.

† An abbey near Tours.

I MET

I MET the king at the gate of the city, and making me enter, he told me, that he believed it would be in vain to endeavour to defend the ſuburbs. In effect, the barricades could not reſiſt the enemy's cannon; they were forced at the firſt onſet, and as they had no ditch to ſupport them, their retreat into the city was ſo confuſed, and ſo much expoſed to the enemy, that I am ſurprized all the ſoldiers in the ſuburbs were not either taken or ſlain, and that the enemies did not even enter the city along with them. Two pieces of cannon would have been ſufficient for that purpoſe. I ſaw the flight of our people from the convent of Jacobins, which looked over the walls of the city; and fearing that the danger would increaſe, I ran with my two brothers to the gate, to which they all preſt tumultuouſly, and by means of ſome intrenchments we ordered to be made, rendered their retreat more ſecure, and with a little time and order, they all entered; after which we cloſed up the gate, and ſet a ſtrong guard over it.

IT was no longer doubted, but that the city would be beſieged in form. I joined Châtillon, and ſome others, and we went to intreat the king to confide ſome important poſt to our care; he gave us the Iſles ‡, and we laboured there without ceaſing from that moment, till the next morning, that the king came to viſit our work. He addreſſed himſelf to me and praiſed our diligence greatly, but it was uſeleſs; for at the firſt news of what had happened, the king of Navarre marched haſtily with his troops to Tours, and appeared in three hours before the city. The duke of Maïenne would not wait for him, but retreated, after plundering the ſuburbs, and the neighbouring places. A ſervice of this importance gave great hopes of what an alliance between the two

‡ Read the Iſle. This quarter, which is inhabited only by watermen, and the meaneſt people, is of great conſequence to the defence of Tours.

kings

kings might produce, and made the inhabitants of Tours look upon the king of Navarre ‖ as their deliverer.

THE two kings continued together eight or ten days, after which they separated for the expedition that had been projected on the city of Poitiers. While they carried on the works there, the king of Navarre sent me with three hundred horse, and a like number of arquebusiers, to whom he also gave horses, to defend Chartres, it having been discovered, that * Maintenon was secretly endeavouring to possess himself of this city, in the name of the league. I provided myself with rope-ladders, petards, and other instruments, and came directly to † Bonneval, without taking any refreshment that whole day. Some prisoners whom we took for a detachment of twenty-five troopers, informed us, that the enemy had a party of four hundred horse in the field, with Brosse Saveuse ‡ at their head; and that Reclainville § who led the twenty-five troopers, had taken us for a body of a hundred and twenty horse, with which Lorges had just surprized Châteaudun. We concluded from this account, that the party of four hundred horse wanted to come up with us; and we, on our side, having the same desire, left our arquebusiers to pursue the road to Chartres leisurely, and taking ours through the little hills, in order to reach the enemy's squadron, we met them on the top of a small hill, which each party had climbed up on his own side; so that we neither saw them, nor they us, till we were within two hundred paces of each other.

‖ Henry IV. highly extolled the behaviour of Henry III. who shewed great courage upon this occasion. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. p. 589.

* Lewis d'Angennes, lord of Maintenon.

† A town upon the confines of Perche.

‡ Charles de Tiercelin, and Anne his brother; the eldest was called Saveuse, and the youngest de Brosse.

§ Lewis de Alonville, lord of Reclainville, or l'Arclainville, who commanded in Chartres for the duke of Maïenne.

WE

We came to blows immediately §, and with so much fury, that by the first shock forty of our men were thrown to the ground. I was of this number, together with Mess. de Châtillon ‖, de Mouy, de Montbazon, d'Avantigny, and de Pressaigny. Happily I had received no wound; my horse, who was only cut in the jaw, got up again, and I found myself still on his back. Perhaps there never was an action of this kind of combat, more furious, obstinate, or more bloody. Four or five times we returned to the charge, the enemies rallying again the moment they were put into disorder. I had two swords broke, and was obliged to have recourse to a pair of pistols loaded with steel balls, against which no arms were proof. Our enemies finding they had lost two hundred of their men, left us at last in possession of the field of battle.

We were not in a condition to enjoy the fruits of our victory: extreme weariness, and the pain of our wounds kept us motionless. A little rest was all we wished for, when a heavy rain fell, which, mixing with our sweat, wet us over in an instant; for we were obliged to cover our arms with our cloaths: and to complete our misfortunes, we learnt that the duke of Maïenne was at our heels. In this melancholy situation, a council being held, it was resolved, notwithstanding the condition we were in, that we should march all night, and endeavour to get back to Beaugency. We arrived there, almost spent with fatigue and thirst. My strength being quite exhausted, all I could do was to sink down upon a bed, nor was it possible to awake me to take any nourishment.

The report of this battle being spread every where, the king of Navarre came to Beaugency to visit us, and expressed himself highly satisfied with

‖ May 18.

* Francis de Châtillon, the admiral's son, the leader of the troop. Isaac Vaudré de Mouy. Lewis de Rohan, duke of Montbazon.

our behaviour. Saveuse being among the prisoners, was brought before him, and the king, who, from the same principle of generosity caressed the brave, and compassionated the unfortunate, endeavoured to console him, by praises on his conduct, and every kind of good treatment. But Saveuse knowing that a great number of his relations, and almost all his friends, perished in the fight, his grief for their loss, the shame he felt at being vanquished, and the dangerous wounds he had received, inspired such an extreme despair, that he became delirious, and died in the frenzy of a raging fever, without suffering his wounds to be dressed. The king of Navarre made us set out for Châteaudun, where eight day rest entirely obliterated all remembrance of our past fatigues.

I was upon the point of leaving this place, when a courier brought me news that my wife was dangerously ill. I flew to Rosny, with Dortoman *, first physician to the king of Navarre, whom this prince ordered to accompany me. All this canton was in the interests of the league; and one of my brothers †, who had taken possession of my house, the same wherein my wife lay ill, had the cruelty to draw up the bridge, and refuse me entrance. Pierced to my inmost soul with a treatment so inhuman, I swore I would enter, or perish in the attempt, and already began to apply ladders to the walls, when my brother, who did not perhaps expect so much resolution, ordered the gate to be opened.

The only consolation I had was to find my wife still alive, and to receive her last embraces: all remedies were ineffectual, and she died four days after my arrival. The loss of a wife so dear to me, and whose life had been exposed to such cruel vicissitudes of fortune, shut my heart during a whole month to every other passion but grief. I heard with insensi-

† Nicholas Dortoman, a native of Arnheim.

* This is certainly the eldest, who was called the baron of Rosny.

bility the progreſs of the arms of the two kings, which at any other time would have inflamed me with an ardent deſire of ſharing in their dangers and glory; for it was about this time, that they took Gergeau, Pluviers, Eſtampes, Chartres §, Poiſſy, Pontoiſe, the iſle of Adam, Beaumont, and Creil. Every little inconſiderable town boaſted of having ſtopped her king, who found nothing but revolt and diſobedience over all his dominions. He was now ſenſible of the great advantage he drew from the king of Navarre's aſſiſtance. As for this prince, he was as prodigal of life as if he had been weary of it: wherever there was moſt danger, there was he to be ſeen at the head of his ſoldiers. In one of thoſe many encounters he had to maintain, at the very moment when, to reſt himſelf, he was leaning upon Charbonniere, this colonel was, by a muſket-ſhot, laid dead at his feet.

I AWAKED as from a deep ſleep at the news ‖ of the two kings holding Paris beſieged; and leaving a place where every object I ſaw renewed my affliction, I went to join the army. It was here that I ſoothed that grief which ſtill filled my heart, by expoſing myſelf careleſly in all the ſkirmiſhes we had with the enemy, then more frequent than ever, particulaly in the field, which was called the Scholars meadow. The king of Navarre perceived my deſign, and obſerving that Maignan, my equery, whom he often ordered to go to me, and force me away, durſt not do it, he deſired him only to tell me, that he wanted to ſpeak to me.

SCARCE had he uttered one word, when he was interrupted by a gentleman, who whiſpered ſomething in his ear, and left him immediately. The

§ Towns in the neighbourhood of Paris, in the iſle of France, la Beauce, and l'Orleans. See an account of this in the hiſtorians.

‖ If we may believe Matthieu, vol. II. p. 3. theſe two kings were greatly diſſatisfied with each other. Henry III. could not conceal his jealouſy of Henry IV. who, far from expecting to reign, reſolved to retire as ſoon as he had re-eſtabliſhed the king upon his throne.

king

king of Navarre, amazed at what he had heard, called me again instantly, and told me an assassin had dangerously wounded the king of France with a knife *: then mounting his horse, and attended only by five and twenty gentlemen which were about

* By James Clement, a jacobin monk, born in Sorbonne, a village in Burgundy. He was introduced by la Guesle, the solicitor-general, into the king's chamber, as having a letter of great consequence to deliver to him. This prince, who had a great kindness for monks, rose from the close-stool upon which he was sitting, having already read part of the letter, when the assassin struck him in the belly with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound. The king drew it out, and wounded the jacobin with it in the forehead, who was immediately killed by the gentlemen of his chamber. His body was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Seine. The historians have not forgot to observe, as a circumstance at that time not doubted of, that Henry III. was murdered in the same house, and (if we believe them) in the same chamber, place, and month, where seventeen years before that prince had assisted at the council, in which the massacre of St. Bartholomew was resolved upon. Monsieur Bayle seems to have given credit to this anecdote, which is now proved to be false, the house at the time of the massacre of St. Bartholomew not being built. Henry III. died in the night between the second and third of August, aged 38 years. "James Clement being at St. "Cloud, some persons, who suspected him, went at night into his "chamber to observe him. They found him in a profound sleep, "his brevary before him, open at the article of Judith. He fasted, "confessed himself, and received the sacrament before he set out to "assassinate the king. He was praised for this action at Rome, in "the chair where Henry the third's funeral oration ought to have "been pronounced. At Paris, his picture was placed on the altars "with the eucharist. Cardinal de Retz relates, that on the anniver-"sary day of the barricades, in the minority of Lewis XIV. he saw "a gorget upon which this monk was engraved, with these words "underneath, St. James Clement." Notes upon the Henriade.

"The king of Navarre," says Victor Gayet, Chron. Novenn. vol. I. fol. 223. "kneeled at his bedside, sighs and tears not per-"mitting him to speak a word. He took his majesty's hands be-"tween his, and kissed them. The king, perceiving that he was "silent through the strong emotions with which he was agitated, "embraced his head, kissed him, and gave him his benediction. "Had not the knife been poisoned, the wound would not have been "mortal; for it was not deep, and had not reached the intestines, "fol. 227. Bourgoin, prior of the jacobins, was tore to pieces by "four horses. They could extort nothing but these words from him, "*We have done what we could, but not what we would have done*; "which made it be believed, that Henry IV. was designed to have been "assassinated at the same time. The sieur de Rougemont was arrest-"ed, for having desired to strike the blow himself." fol. 228. He

him, took the road to St. Cloud, which was the king's quarters. At his entrance into this prince's apartment, he found he had just received an injection, which came away again without either pain or blood. The king of Navarre approached his bed, amidst all the agitation and grief that the sincerest friendship could inspire. The king comforted him with assurances, that his wound would have no bad consequences, and that God would prolong his life, that he might be in a condition to give him new proofs of his affection. The wounded monarch pronounced these words in such a manner, as removed part of the king of Navarre's apprehensions, who seeing likewise no appearance of any dangerous symptoms, left him to his repose, and returned to his quarters at Meudon.

My lodgings were at the bottom of this castle, in the house of a man named Sauvat. After I had attended the king of Navarre to his apartment, I went home to sup, and had just placed myself at table, when I saw Ferret his secretary enter, who said to me, "Sir, the king of Navarre, and perhaps the king "of France, desires you will come to him instant-"ly." Surprized at these words, I went with him immediately to the castle; and as he walked, he told me that Dortoman had informed the king of Navarre, by an express, that if he would see the king of France alive, he had not a moment to lose.

I went directly to the king of Navarre's apartment, where while our horses were saddling, he did

died like a good christian. "He forgave his enemies, and even "Clement himself," says Matthieu the historian. See, in the historians, a fuller account of his death. His character may be collected from what is said of him in these Memoirs. He was called, at his baptism, Edward Alexander, by Edward VI. king of England, and Antony king of Navarre; but Catherine made him afterwards assume the name of his father.

It is said, that seventeen or eighteen persons having gathered up the ashes of Clement, which the wind had dispersed, getting into a boat with these ashes, the boat was swallowed up by the Seine, and all that were in it.

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me the honour to consult me upon the present conjuncture. So many different thoughts presented themselves to my mind that moment, that I continued some time silent, nor was the king in less agitation. It was not the event of a little negotiation, the success of a battle, or the possession of a small kingdom, such as Navarre, that employed his thoughts, but the greatest monarchy in Europe. But how many obstacles had he to surmount, how many labours to endure, ere he could hope to obtain it! All that he had hitherto done, was nothing in comparison to what remained to do. How crush a party so powerful, and in such high credit, that it had given fears to a prince established on the throne, and almost obliged him to descend from it! This difficulty already so great, appeared insurmountable, when he reflected, that the king's death would deprive him of the best and greatest part of his forces. He could have no dependence either on the princes of the blood, or the grandees; and in his present condition he had occasion for every one's assistance, yet had no one in whom he could confide. I was struck with fear, when he suggested to me, that it was possible such surprizing, and unexpected news might occasion a revolution, which would expose him with only a few of his most faithful servants to the mercy of his old enemies, in a country where he was absolutely destitute of every resource.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these difficulties, every one confest that the king of Navarre had but one part to take, which was to seize this opportunity, and use it with all those precautions which generally determine the event. Without attempting to judge of the future, which depends upon too many accidents, much less to subject it to our precipitation; in bold and difficult enterprizes, we should endeavour to subdue one obstacle at a time; nor suffer ourselves to be deprest by their greatness, and their number. We ought never to despair of what has

been once accomplished. How many things have the idea of impossible been annexed to, that have become easy to those who knew how to take advantage of time, opportunity, lucky moments, the faults of others, different dispositions, and an infinite number of other circumstances?

The answer I made the king was founded on these maxims; and we agreed that, instead of going back to the different provinces, he should remain in the midst of the royal army to support his claim, and set out immediately for St. Cloud, but well armed at all events, taking care, however, to keep our extraordinary arms concealed, that we might not ourselves be the first to create terror and suspicion. When we entered St. Cloud, they told us the king was better; and obliged us to put off our swords. I followed the king of Navarre, who advanced towards the castle, when suddenly we heard a man exclaim, "Ah! my God, we are lost." The king of Navarre making this man approach, who continued crying, "Alas! the king is dead," asked him several questions, which he satisfied by such a circumstantial recital of the king's death, that we could no longer doubt the truth of it.

Henry no longer doubted, when he saw the Scots guard, who threw themselves at his feet, saying, "Ah, Sire! you are now our king and our "master." And some moments after, mess. de Biron †, de Bellegarde, d'O, de Châteauvieux, de Dampierre, and several others, did the same.

The king of Navarre was convinced that this was one of those critical moments, upon the good or bad use of which his destiny depended. Without suffering himself to be dazzled with the view of a throne, to which he was that instant called, or oppress by difficulties, and useless grief, he calmly

† Armand de Gontaut, marechal de Biron. Roger de St. Larry Bellegarde, grand ecuyer, of France. Francis d'O, governor of Paris, and superintendant of the finances. Joachim de Châteauvieux.

began

began to give orders for keeping every one in their duty, and preventing mutinies: then turning to me, with that familiar air which he used to those of whose affection he was assured, he bid me go to the marechal d'Aumont's ‡ quarters; and there, with all the precaution necessary to his interest, spread among his troops the news of the king's death, and to speak by this marechal to the French guards, to engage their officers to come and pay their homage to him in the afternoon, and to prevail upon the nobility to do the like. He recommended to me to observe my own quarters carefully, and keep all there in due obedience. After which he applied himself to gain all the foreign powers, on whose assistance he thought he might depend, and wrote or sent deputies to Germany, England, Flanders, Switzerland, and the republic of Venice, to inform them of this new event, and the claim which it gave him to the crown of France.

I REPRESENTED to him, that it was absolutely necessary to get possession of § Meulan immediately; a place, upon this occasion, of the utmost importance, the governor of which (who was called St. Marc) he knew to be a zealous partisan of the league in his heart. I explained to him in few words how easily this might be executed, and the king approving my scheme, I went to Meulan, and demanded a conference with St. Marc, upon affairs I said of the greatest consequence to him. He came to me, and while I amused him with a feigned confidence, the marechal d'Aumont passed over the bridge with his troops, and taking advantage of the consternation this occasioned, proceeded to the castle, which he made himself master of, and we drove out the too credulous St. Marc.

THE king offered me this government, but from many considerations I chose not to accept of it.

‡ John duke d'Aumont, marechal of France.
§ In the isle of France.

Part of his apprehensions were soon justified by the event; he found it impossible to keep either the duke of Epernon *, or many other disaffected catholics, in his service, especially those who owed their fortune to the deceased king. Their dissention reduced him almost to those troops only, which he had brought with him, and put it out of his power to continue the siege of Paris, or even to hold the adjacent places. The foreign powers either gave him nothing but promises, or offered him such supplies as could be of no use in his present exigencies: he was obliged therefore to retire into the heart of the kingdom. He had already (though without discovering his real motive for it) caused a report to be spread among his soldiers of an intended journey to Tours. This retreat was equally necessary for the safety of his person, and the success of his affairs. A thousand dangers threatened him in the neighbourhood of a city, where the king his predecessor, though a catholic,

* The author of his life assigns very bad reasons for this retreat: it is plain that nothing can excuse it. Upon this occasion it appears, that besides the protestant party, there were three others among the catholics themselves, the first of whom was composed of those persons who abandoned Henry IV. after the death of Henry III. the second, those who not being able to prevail upon this prince to declare that very moment, that he would embrace the catholic religion, continued with him, but had neither affection to his person, nor a sincere attachment to his interest. The number of these was very great; the chief among them were the dukes of Longueville, and Nevers, d'O, (who had spoken to him in the name of the rest) and many others. The third party was made up of those who declared publicly, says d'Aubigné, that they would serve the king without any conditions: and these were indeed but very few in number, among which were the marechals d'Aumont, and Biron, Givry, &c. Henry was extremely perplexed at the rude proposition made him by the catholics, and the declaration they added to it, that they would retire, if he did not give them this satisfaction. He told them resolutely, that he would never be reproached with having been constrained to take such a step. And demanded six months time to think upon it. See the historians upon this subject, and particularly d'Aubigné, vol. III. book ii. chap. 23. Henry IV. received such important services upon this occasion from the marechal Biron, that it was reported, it was he who made him king: and the marechal is said to have reproached Henry with his services in those very terms. Mem. of Brantome, vol. III. p. 346.

and

and with a powerful army under his obedience, could not escape a violent death. It was here that the last resolution was taken for the murder of this prince; and he had still more reason to tremble, when he reflected that those cruel designs were formed in the midst of his army, and the assassins perhaps near his person.

In this perplexing situation, it was necessary to place a governor in Meulan, who had a regiment ready to defend it against the league, which, becoming insolent by the king's death, in imagination already enjoyed the conquest of it. I having no regiment, nor sufficient time to raise one, the government of Meulan was given to Bellengreville *.

The king, in his retreat, took Clermont †, and some other small towns. His forces were too inconsiderable to admit of his engaging in greater enteprizes, which was the reason likewise that I missed of taking of ‡ Louviers, upon which I had a design that in all appearance would have succeeded. This design I communicated to the king, and desired he would give me some forces for the execution of it. He could spare me no more than a company of his light-armed horse, commanded by Arambure, which was not sufficient; but he assured me, that I should be joined at Louviers by a regiment of twelve hundred men, that was then at Nogent; and for this purpose he wrote to Couronneau the colonel of it.

With this hope I sat down before Louviers, where I waited in vain for the supplies that had been promised me. The river of Eure, which ran into the ditches of Louviers, being turned, a great aqueduct that supplied the city with water became dry. This I observed, and it was through this place that I proposed to enter it; but as it was not probable, that messieurs d'Aumale ‖, de la Londe, de Fontaine-

* Read, Joachim de Berengueville.

† In Beauvaisis. ‡ A city of Normandy.

‖ Charles de Lorraine, duke of Aumale; --- Bigars de le Londe, mayor of Rouen; Francis de Fontaine-Martel, governor of Neufchâtel;

Martel, de Medavy, de Contenant, and many other officers of the league, of which this city was full, would surrender, or suffer themselves to be taken, without striking a blow, I thought it would be rashness to attempt to force it with a handful of men: in order therefore to justify the truth of what I had asserted, I contented myself with sending several persons into the aqueduct, where I employed them only in enlarging the entrance, by forcing up with a petard the grate that closed it. By this means they several times penetrated into the city, and came out again without being perceived, which was a convincing proof that our attempt would have succeeded, if we had had a sufficient number of soldiers.

I RETURNED by Pont-de-l'Arche, to meet the kind of Navarre, at Ecouy, from whence he hoped to go immediately to Touraine; but he found the Normans so well inclined towards him, that he was determined, by their offers, to attempt the important siege of Rouen. While preparations were making for this expedition, we took Gournay, Neufchâtel, the city of Eu, Treport, and Darnetal †; where the king received advice that the duke of Maïenne was desirous of coming to a battle with him. I was ordered to go with fifty horse to reconnoitre this general's army, which I found in the neighbourhood of Mante, and spread all over my estate. I went, and posted myself in the forest; from whence I made observations, and brought the king information, that the army of the league consisted of twenty-five thousand foot and eight thousand horse. The king, who had only a little flying camp to oppose to so formidable an army, was not willing to neglect any precaution which might be necessary. He had already caused the commander of Chastes * to be

châtel; Charles Francis de Rouxel de Medavy; Timoleon de Bauves de Contenant. † In Upper Normandy.

* Aimat de Chastes, knight of St. Lazarus, and governor of Dieppe.

founded,

ſounded, to know if in any caſe of neceſſity, he would receive him into Dieppe: and he had reaſon to be pleaſed with his anſwer; but, in order to be better aſſured of this governor's intentions, he went himſelf to confer with him, and returned extremely well ſatisfied. Finding therefore that he might depend upon a retreat ſo ſecure as Dieppe †, he the leſs feared to keep the field before the enemy; and reſolving to make head againſt them till the laſt extremity, he came and poſted himſelf before Arques ‡.

At the end of the cauſeway of Arques there is a long winding hill, covered with coppice: beneath is a ſpace of arable land, in the midſt of which is the great road that leads to Arques, having thick hedges on each ſide. Lower down, upon the left hand, there is a kind of great marſh or boggy ground. A village called Martinglife ‖ bounds the hill, about half a league from the cauſeway. It was in this village, and in the neighbourhood of it, that the whole army of the duke of Maïenne was encamped. The king was ſenſible, that by attempting to reſiſt an army of above thirty thouſand men, with leſs than three thouſand, his conduct would be accuſed of raſhneſs; but beſides, that it would be very difficult to find a place more favourable for his few forces, and that there was danger in going back, he thought that the preſent weak condition his party was in, demanded ſome bold blow at the beginning. He neglected nothing that might compenſate, in ſome degree, for the ſmallneſs of his number; he ordered deep trenches to be cut at the cauſeway, and above, as well as beneath the great road: he poſted twelve hundred Swiſs on each ſide of this road, and ſix hundred German foot to defend the upper trenches; and

† Henry IV. it is ſaid, was reduced to ſuch an extremity under the walls of this city, that he was upon the point of retiring into England; which the maréchal de Biron prevented, by adviſing him to make good his poſt at Arques. Before the battle of Arques, he ſaid, that he was a king without a kingdom, a huſband without a wife, and a warrior without money.

‡ In the country of Caux.

‖ Or Martin Egliſe.

placed a thousand or twelve hundred others in a chapel, which stood in the midst of the upper and lower trenches. These were all the infantry he had: his cavalry, which amounted in all to but six hundred men, he divided into two equal squadrons; and with one, posted himself between the wood and the road, and separating the others into platoons, made them go down between the road and the morass, to fill in some sort that space. He did not sleep that whole night; during which, fearing that the enemies would make themselves masters of the causeway, he kept guard there himself. In the morning they brought him some refreshments into the ditch, where he invited his principal officers to breakfast with him; after which he thought, perhaps, to have taken a few moments rest, when he was informed by the guards, that the army of the league was marching towards him, in order of battle.

At this news, he ordered the viscount de Chartres, Palcheux, Brasseuse, Avantigno, and three or four others, to advance into the wood, and endeavour to make some prisoners; they soon returned, bringing with them the count de Belin *. The king went to meet him, and embraced him smiling. The count, whose eyes were in search of the king's army, seeing hardly any soldiers about him, answered him no otherways than by expressing his surprize at the small number that seemed to be with him. "You see not "all," said the king to him with the same gaiety: "for you reckon not God, and my claim, who "fight for me." Accustomed as I was to see this prince, I could not help admiring the tranquility that sat upon his countenance, on an occasion so much the more desperate, as it gave time for reflection. His air was so serene, and his ardour tempered with so much prudence, that he appeared to the soldiers as

* Francis de Faudoas d'Averton de Serillac, count of Belin, deputy governor of Paris for the duke of Maïenne.

some-

ſomething more than human, and inſpired them all with the intrepidity of their leader.

THE duke of Maïenne ordered the upper trenches to be attacked by a ſquadron of his German foot, who ſeemed to refuſe fighting, becauſe they had only Germans to encounter, and feigned to ſurrender. Our Germans were ſo effectually deceived by this artifice, that they ſuffered the others to advance and gain the trench, from whence they drove out ours; and from this advantageous poſt they gave us a great deal of trouble. I ſoon loſt ſight of all that was done at the ſide of the wood; for that part of the moraſs where I was, with ten of my men, was that moment attacked by a ſquadron of eight or nine hundred horſe. At the approach of ſo large a body, we drew together about a hundred and fifty horſe, and drove them back as far as the valley; where meeting with four other ſquadrons, we were obliged to retreat, till being joined in our turn by the count d'Auvergne *, who brought a hundred and fifty horſe more to our aſſiſtance, we a ſecond time beat back the enemies ſquadrons. This game could not laſt long: three hundred horſe from the enemies

* Charles de Valois, natural ſon of Charles IX. He is mentioned hereafter. It is upon the relation of this count, afterwards duke of Angoulême, that father Daniel, in his hiſtory of France, vol. IX. has given a deſcription of this battle, to which nothing can be added, and differs but little from that in our Memoirs. See alſo father Matthieu, vol. II. p. 14. and following. Cayet, vol. I. book ii. fol. 263, and following. The Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. p. 597. and the phyſician du Cheſne's account, &c. This battle was fought on Wedneſday September 20th: it began at ten o'clock in the morning, and ended at eleven. The duke of Maïenne, five days before, made ſeveral attempts upon Dieppe, which were called *eſcarmouches du Pollet*. "My companion," ſaid Henry IV. to Arreguer, colonel of the regiment of Soleure, "I come to die, or to gain honour with "you." "He drove back the treacherous Germans," &c. Le Grain, book v. "My father," ſaid this prince to colonel Galati, "keep a pike for me, for I will fight at the head of your battalion." Matthieu, ibid. p. 14. After the battle, he wrote to Grillon in theſe terms, "Hang thyſelf, brave Grillon, for we have fought at Arques "without thee. Adieu, brave Grillon, I love thee whether I will "or not."

army

army joining the first, we were forced to give ground, and regained the chapel in disorder; where fortunately our foot soldiers, who were posted there, stopped this cavalry short, and engaged in a battle, wherein Sagonne * and some other officers were slain.

THE duke of Maïenne commanding all the rest of his German foot to attack the chapel, we yielded at length this post; and overpowered by numbers, abandoned the hollows in the road, and even the road itself. This might be called the beginning of a defeat; we should have had reason to fear the event, had we not happily met the battalion of Swiss, who sustained the shock, gave us time to rally, and put us again into a condition of renewing the fight. Nothing could have happened more seasonably. My horse that moment falling dead of his wounds, I mounted a fresh one. To vanquish the brave resistance of our Swiss, the enemies thought proper to order five hundred horse to march along the side of the morass: they would have taken us in the rear, and have easily overwhelmed the Swiss, and the rest of the soldiers, when luckily the horses approaching too near to the morass, they remained entangled in the mire, and their riders with difficulty disengaged them, by leaving their lances sticking there.

THE battle continued some time longer in this state; that is to say, while we had any strength left; but at length we began to sink under the fatigue. On our side the same men were always in action, while our enemies were sustained with fresh supplies, and multiplied every moment. Great part of our brigade was disarmed and dismounted: in this extremity, I was deputed by the troop to represent our situation to the king, and to ask him for a reinforcement. I met this prince coming to our quarter: "My friend, said he to me, I have no supplies to

† John Babou, count of Sagonne. Lewis de Rohan, and Josias de la Rochefoucault, counts of Montbazon and de Roussy, lost their lives also there.

"send

"ſend you; however, we muſt not ſuffer ourſelves "to be depreſſed." In effect, he was in no better condition than we. He turned toward monſieur le Grand *, and bid him follow me with all the men he could get together from the upper part of the road. I went back to my party, and with a ſeeming joy informed them of the ſupply that was coming; upon which, however, I but little depended. Inſpired with freſh vigour, it may be truly ſaid, that at that moment every man gave proofs of a valour, ſcarcely credible. The thick fog, which concealed us from our enemies, hid from us likewiſe our danger; but when this fog was diſſipated, the ſun ſhewed us to them, and diſcovered their whole army to our view, which was pouring upon us. It was already ſo near, that we could not hope to gain the end of the cauſeway, where was our laſt entrenchment, and we thought of nothing but ſelling our lives dearly.

Our ſafety we owed to a circumſtance that we had looked upon as our greateſt misfortune. The cannon of the caſtle of Arques had been rendered uſeleſs by the thickneſs of the fog; but as ſoon as the enemies could be diſtinguiſhed, it made a diſcharge ſo juſt, and was followed by ſo terrible an effect, altho' there were but four pieces of cannon, that the enemies were thrown into confuſion. Four other vollies ſucceeded with ſuch rapidity, as went quite thro' their army; which, no longer able to endure the fire, retired in diſorder to the ſide of the valley: behind which, ſome moments after, all this terrible multitude was loſt; aſtoniſhed, without doubt, at the great loſs they had ſuſtained, and diſheartened by a reſiſtance which the duke of Maïenne had not expected.

The king, after an action which had covered him with glory, retired to Arques, from thence he went to Dieppe, harraſſed continually by the enemies, and engaged in frequent ſkirmiſhes; the detail of which

* Roger de St. Sarry, of Bellegarde.

I ſup-

I suppress, as having nothing very interesting after the battle of Arques. The king, however, in one of these rencounters, found himself exposed to a danger still greater: for, believing the enemies at a distance, he was exercising a kind of military game in a meadow, and sustained a discharge from two hundred fusileers, who lay in ambush upon the ground, between two hedges, not more than two hundred paces from the place where we were.

It is certain, that any other than Henry would have sunk under those difficulties, before he could have been relieved by the supplies which were preparing for him; but by his valour *, and his skill in disputing the ground, he gave time to four thousand English and Scotch, that queen Elizabeth sent him, to pass the sea; and this reinforcement was soon after followed by one more considerable, which was brought him by the count of Soissons, Henry of Orleans, duke of Longueville, d'Aumont, and Biron. It was owing to the count of Soissons that he was so often in danger at Dieppe, who amused himself with disputing about the command of the forces, instead of hastening to the king's assistance.

The duke of Maïenne durst not wait for the junction of all these troops; he disappeared with his army, and left the king master of the field. Henry then changing his resolution of keeping in Normandy, set out again for Paris, which he had quitted with regret. He passed through Meulan and Poissy †, and from thence dispatched me with the duke of

* "Sixtus V. presaged, that the Bearnois would be the uppermost, "since he was no longer in bed than the duke of Maïenne was at "table. The duke of Maïenne was extremely slow in all his motions. If he does not act in another manner, said the king, I "shall certainly beat him always in the field." Perefixe, ibid. 2. The same pope, after the battle of Arques, applied these words to Henry IV. Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, & conculcabis leonem, & draconem: meaning by the asp the duke of Maïenne, the duke of Savoy by the basilisk, the king of Spain by the lion, and himself by the dragon.

† These towns are upon the Seine.

Mont-

Montpensier ‡, to endeavour a perfect correspondence he had a long time before begun in Vernon, or to seize the city by means of that terror which his approach would cause in it. We found no probability of succeeding in either of these designs; therefore, the duke of Montpensier went back to Normandy, and I joined the king at Villepreux.

His design was to alarm Paris, and even to attack it; and as he saw opportunity, to attempt to make himself master of it. He had taken the precaution to send persons to break the bridge of St. * Maixance, by which the duke of Maïenne might have been able to assist this great city; for that general, alarmed by the king's march, had also come near Paris by the opposite side, that he might not meet the king. Henry, therefore, gave the necessary orders for attacking all the suburbs at the same time: that of St. Germain fell to monsieur d'Aumont, de Châtillon, and me. As soon as the signal was given, we fell upon this suburb; and having, though an immense, yet a confused and terrible multitude to oppose, we hemmed two large bodies of soldiers within the enclosure of the market of St. Germain; and there, in a less space than two hundred paces, we left four hundred of them in a moment dead upon the place. I could hardly prevail upon myself to kill men already more than half dead with fear; but putting them out of a condition to resist us, we passed, and advanced as far as the gate of Nesle: fifteen or twenty of us entered the city; but perceiving that our men did not follow us, we turned back: an order from the king to give over the attack was the cause of their abandoning us. The person whom he had sent to demolish the bridge † of St. Maixance had performed this com-

‡ Henry of Bourbon-Montpensier, prince of the blood, the only son of Francis and Renée of Anjou, at that time seven and twenty years old. Henry III. took the government of Bretagne from him, without any cause, to bestow it on the duke of Mercœur. He soon had reason to repent of it. * Upon the river Oise.

† De Thou observes, that the guard of this bridge was given to William de Montmorency, lord of Thoré; but being indisposed at Senlis,

miſſion ſo ill, that the duke of Maïenne appeared within ſight of Paris with his whole army, at the ſame moment that we entered it.

THE king was now convinced that his enterprize was no longer practicable, and that although we ſhould make ourſelves maſter of the city, which on our ſide would infallibly have happened, an army thus diſperſed in a city of ſuch vaſt extent as Paris, would have been in danger of being overpowered; having ſuch an infinite number of people to oppoſe within, and an army without to fight againſt, which would either enter with us, or keep us beſieged there. It was thus that this prince, tempering ſo happily courage with prudence, never ſuffered his ardor in battle to hinder him from following the calmer dictates of wiſdom. He was ſatisfied with throwing terror into the very heart of that city that dared to deſpiſe him, and giving it to know what it had to expect from him. Part of the ſuburbs was pillaged: our ſoldiers leaving nothing in that of St. Germain †, that they could conveniently carry away. I had for my ſhare three thouſand crowns, and all my men made very conſiderable booty.

Two days after, the king went to Eſtampes ‡, and reſuming his firſt deſign of ſhewing himſelf in the heart of the kingdom, went towards Tours, and

Senlis, he could not defend it. Book xcvii. I was attacked on Allſaints day, upon advice ſent by James Corbinelly, a Florentine gentleman, to Henry IV. in theſe three words, Come, come, come, written on a bit of paper, which the bearer incloſed in a quill, and held in his mouth. They did not carry it for want of cannon to beat down the gates. Matthieu, vol. II. book i. p. 17. Cayet, vol. I. p. 270.

† "The ſieurs de Châtillon, and la Noüe," ſays le Grain, book v. "assaulted the ſuburbs of St. Germain, Buſſy and Neſſe, which "were richer and more magnificent than the others, and where they "expected to find moſt reſiſtance, as well upon account of the fine "houſes that were in the ſuburb St. Germain, which makes its va-"lue equal to the ſecond city in France, as the abbey St. Germain, "which was fortified. Châtillon made it appear that he remem-"bered St. Bartholomew's day, and was reſolved to expiate the "murder, and appeaſe the manes of the admiral his father."

‡ In Beauce.

in

in a ſhort time took a great many little towns in Touraine ||, Anjou, Maine, and Lower Normandy. He left ſome troops with the marechal de Biron, who took Evreux, without cannon. I drove the catholics from Anfreville. The king gave me all the countries about Mante and Roſny to preſerve, with a ſmall body of troops, with which I narrowly miſſed ſeizing the duke d'Aumale, as he paſſed by Roſny. Afterwards I joined the marechal Biron, at the ſiege of Evreux. I cannot give a more circumſtantial account of actions of little importance, and muſt even ſuppreſs the greateſt part of them, as it is neither poſſible, nor neceſſary, to relate at length facts in themſelves ſo inconſiderable.

I FOREWARN the public therefore to expect in theſe Memoirs a detail only of important events; ſuch as I have been a witneſs to, or what regards the king himſelf; and if I ſhould add any others, they will be thoſe, the truth of which I can warrant from the authenticity of thoſe memoirs which have fallen into my hands. As for the reſt, it will be ſufficient juſt to point them out, that the reader may from thence form an idea of the condition, and affairs of Henry the Great, in different periods of time. It was to relieve my memory, that I at firſt committed ſuch particulars as moſt ſtruck me, to paper; eſpecially thoſe converſations I had with the king, or he with others, either upon war or politics, which I apprehended might be of great uſe to me. This prince, who perceived it by my ſometimes repeating exactly what had fallen from him on theſe ſubjects, commanded me to put my work in ſome order, and to enlarge it. I found ſome difficulty in obeying him, for my ſtyle was none of the beſt; and I

|| Alençon, le Mans, Château-Briant, Sablé, Château-Gontier, Maïenne, Laval, Argentan, Falaiſe, Lifieux, Baïeux, Ponteau de Mer, Pont l'Evêque, Honfleur, Havre-de-Grace, Donfront, &c. De Thou, book xcvii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. chap. 4, &c. See alſo the Memoirs of the league, and particular accounts of theſe expeditions printed at that time.

would

would gladly have been excuſed, but upon repeated commands from his majeſty, and his promiſe to correct it with his own hand, I reſumed and continued this work with more affiduity. Such was the riſe of theſe Memoirs. But to return to my ſubject.

THE army of the league ſitting down before Pontoiſé, took it, and afterwards laid ſiege to Meulan. As I looked upon this place to be of great importance to the king, I endeavoured by all the methods I could think of, to ſupply it with powder †, and to introduce ſome perſon into it on whom I could depend, to prevail upon the beſieged to hold out till aſſiſtance, which was very near, arrived. And this I performed by making a man ſwim over to it; and in the mean time ſent to inform the king of what had paſſed, and to demand the ſupplies. My repeated inſtances determined this prince to come thither himſelf; but it was with great unwillingneſs that he left other places where his preſence was no leſs neceſſary. "Your importunity brings me to "the aſſiſtance of Meulan." Thus he wrote to me. "If any thing unfortunate ſhould happen, I ſhall "never ceaſe to reproach you." It would indeed have appeared very ſurprizing to me, if no misfortune had happened; for this prince leaving all his infantry before Honfleur, brought with him ſo ſmall a number, that it was impoſſible for him to ſuſtain the attack of a whole army which then preſt Meulan, and would not fail to fall upon him as ſoon as it was known how ill he was attended.

THIS, I took the liberty to repreſent to him; and, in effect, he had no ſooner left Verneuil to proceed to Ivry, than going out to reconnoitre, I ſaw the whole army of the league, which was no doubt informed of his march, making directly towards him, which obliged him to turn back to Verneuil.

† The duke of Sully is mentioned with diſtinction, in the relation of this ſiege, by de Thou, book xcviii. and father Matthieu, vol. II. p. 22.

It

It was not usual for this prince to give ground before his enemies, nor did he now without great regret. In the first transports of his rage, he reproached me as the cause of his suffering this affront, and with being less solicitous for his reputation, by calling him thither, than careful to preserve my lands from pillage. It was not difficult for me to justify myself; and this prince, who comprehended the importance of such a place as Meulan, gave orders for all his army to join him.

THIS produced the effect which I had promised myself. The enemies seeing the army on its march, drew their cannon on this side the river, and without wholly raising the siege, abandoned the care of it, to guard against surprizes.

I SENT the king advice of this proceeding, and he thought it necessary to hasten his march, to prevent any accident which might occasion the loss of Meulan, and sent me the scouts of his army, that while I waited for his arrival, I might be able to give the besiegers some trouble. He came soon after, and entered the fort, where being desirous of observing the enemy's army *, he climbed up, with some of us, into the belfrey. The besiegers that moment directing a battery against this belfrey, demolished the staircase, and obliged the king, and all of us that were with him, to come down with the help of a cord, and a stick passed between our legs. The king, to pay them in the same coin, ordered four pieces of cannon to be raised in this place: which was contrary to my opinion; for I foresaw that the enemies would quickly dismount them, which really happened before we could derive the least advantage from them, and the besiegers fired there so furiously all day, that we were not able to remove these four pieces till night. The enemies, who took care to have the river between them and the king,

"* As Henry IV. was ascending the belfrey of St. Nicaise, a can-
"non-ball passed through his legs," Matthieu, ibid. 24.

made

made a terrible attack on the bridge on that side; but this was their last effort. The king posting himself at Orgreux, they were afraid of being overcome, and suddenly decamped.

THE marquis of † Alegre had better success, and seized Rouen for the league. I received the news of it at Rosny. The king, whose whole attention it had been to hinder the reduction of this place, marched instantly to Rouen; but upon his arrival at Gaillon he learnt that the misfortune was without remedy. In revenge he went to besiege Dreux, after putting me in garrison in Passy. The duke of Maïenne, who had been just reinforced with the whole Spanish army, passed the river, and spread his troops all round Mante and Rosny, with a resolution to raise this siege. The vanguard of this army, which was conducted by one of my relations, named Rosny, had orders from the general to possess himself of Passy in his way. I gave the king notice of his approach, who replied only, that I might do as I pleased. I resolved, therefore, to defend myself; and although monsieur de Rosny wrote to me, representing to me, that it would be rashness to suffer myself to be stormed in a place that had not even walls, and offered me very advantageous conditions ‡, yet he could gain nothing upon me.

I THANKED him for his false complaisance, and, in the night, caused a ditch to be dug, which might

† Christopher d'Alegre, governor of Gisors.

‡ Father Matthieu mentions this fact exactly in the same manner as it is here; he even relates the duke of Sully's reply, in the very words he made use of. "Here is the king ready to give battle; tell "the duke of Maïenne, that he is now reckoning upon winning it; "and then I will consider whether I am to lose it."

The only difference between them is, that this officer of the enemy's who is here called Rosny, and, a relation of the baron de Rosny, was, according to Matthieu, the baron de Rosne, one of the general officers of the league: however, to those who read the Memoirs of Sully, it would seem impossible for the error to be on his side. Compare the two writers, *Oeconomies Royales*, &c. vol. I. p. 71. and Matthieu's history, vol. II. book i. p. 25.

in

in ſome degree ſerve the garriſon for a ſhelter. Luckily the enemy had no deſign to waſte time in ſo inconſiderable a ſiege, and wanted only to ſeize the place. As they paſſed next morning, the noiſe of the baggage gave me to underſtand, that the army had purſued its rout, which drew me out of great perplexity. During the night, which I ſpent entirely in fortifying Paſſy, I thought I ſaw diſtinctly two armies fighting in the air ‖. I know not whether this object was real, or only an illuſion, but it made ſuch an impreſſion on my mind, that I was not ſurprized at reading a letter next day from the king, wherein he informed me, that the duke of Maïenne's army, joined to the Spaniards, had approached with a deſign to offer him battle; that he had waited for it till the evening of that day on which he wrote to me, but that the whole day had been paſſed in ſkirmiſhing, making lodgments, and ſecuring advantages, and that the general action was put off till the next. His letter concluded with theſe words, "I conjure you then to come, and "bring with you as many of the forces as you can, "particularly your own company, and the two "companies of Badid and James's horſe-arquebu-"ſiers; for I know them, and am reſolved to make "uſe of them upon this occaſion."

I was ſenſible that, without extraordinary diſpatch, I ſhould arrive too late for the battle with theſe companies, which I foreſaw the king would be in great need of, as he was much inferior, in numbers to the enemy. I therefore loſt not a mo-

‖ Davila, who alſo takes notice of this phenomenon, book xi. deſcribes it in this manner: "The thunder and lightning, ſometimes "mingled with horrid darkneſs, added to their terrors; and ſuch a "flood of rain poured ſuddenly down, that the whole army was a-"larmed. A prodigious apparition, which appeared in the ſky as "ſoon as it had ceaſed to rain, increaſed the general diſmay; for "during the noiſe of the thunder, at which the boldeſt among them "trembled, two great armies were diſtinctly ſeen in the air, that af-"ter continuing ſome time engaged in fight, diſappeared, covered "with a thick cloud; ſo that the event of the battle was not ſeen."

ment, and was fortunate enough to arrive an hour and a half before the battle began. The king ordered me to make my company pass to the right wing, where his own squadron was, to which he joined it; and making the two companies of arquebusiers dismount, sent their horses amongst the baggage, designing to make use of them as the forlorn hope. After this, he bid me follow him to view the disposition of the two armies, "in order, added "he, that you may learn your trade." He had no sooner placed himself at the head of his squadron§, than the trumpets sounded the charge.

I SHAL not here encroach upon the historian's right; I leave it to them to relate all the particulars of this battle, and shall confine myself only to what I was an eye-witness of. It is sufficient to say that, upon this occasion, what gave the victory to the weaker party, was the valour of the marechal d'Aumont, who prevented the entire defeat of the light horse, as also the great difference between the enemy's manner of using their artillery, and ours; and above all, the uncommon abilities of the king, which were never so perfectly known as in the day of battle, in the disposition of his troops, rallying them, their discipline, and their exact and ready obedience.

IT is certain the duke of Maïenne, and the count of Egmont, who were at the head of the Spaniards,

§ "My companions," said he, addressing himself to his squadron, "if to-day you run my fortune, I also run yours. I am resolved to "die, or conquer with you; keep your ranks, I beseech you, and if "you should quit them in the heat of the battle, rally immediately; "which will be gaining the victory: you will do it between those "three trees which you see up there on the right: and, if you should "lose sight of your standards and colours, keep my white plume of "feathers always in view; there you will find the road to victory and "glory." Perefixe ibid. 2d part. "They lost sight of him in the "battle, where, accompanied only by twelve or thirteen persons, he "was surrounded by the enemy. He killed the count of Egmont's "equery with his own hand. We must use our pistols, said he to "his troops; the more men the more glory." Matthieu, vol. II. book i. p. 26, &c.

imagined that if the king ventured to wait for them, the victory would be theirs; and that, if he yielded, or gave ground before them, as they expected, they depended upon nothing less than forcing him out of whatever place he should retreat to; and thus finish the war by a single blow. With such dispositions, what must be the consequence? I say nothing of the generals, who alone are worth many thousand men. The stronger party never makes use of those precautions that are necessary against an enemy of equal strength; and the weaker never forms a resolution to defend itself against a more numerous army, without determining likewise to supply, by valour and address, the deficiency of numbers. Danger, which inspires a courage animated by glory and difficulties, reduces both sides to a kind of equality.

THE king's squadron *, where I was, had the attacks of the count of Egmont to sustain, who fell upon us with his own squadron, and another of a

* See upon this action de Thou, book xcviii. D'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. ch. 3. Le Grain, book v. The Memoirs of the league. Father Matthieu, idem. The Chron. Novenn. of Cayet, vol. II, fol. 327. and an account printed in 1590, and others.

De Thou and Cayet observe, that Henry the IVth's artillery had fired nine times before the duke of Maïenne's began; they also blame the duke for having disposed his army in the form of a crescent, like Henry's, when, being superior in number, he ought to have given it the form of a trianglé. According to Matthieu, Henry IV. was guilty of a great fault, in not beginning the battle, by falling upon the light horse commanded by du Terrail, and upon the duke of Maïenne's body, who, having advanced too far, was obliged to go half a league about in retreating. It appears, that the cavalry only fought there; and, if we believe le Grain, twelve hundred horse defeated an army of twenty thousand men. But here is a little exaggeration. The king's army was composed of about two thousand cavalry, and six or seven thousand infantry; and the league's consisted of five thousand horse, and eight thousand foot. The count of Egmont, who had boasted that his squadron alone was sufficient to subdue the royal army, was slain in the fight. He was the son of l'Amoral d'Egmont, who was beheaded at Brussels with the count of Horne. It is said, that when he came to Paris, the person who complimented him, mixed in his discourse some praises of l'Amoral his father, "Do not mention him," he replied; "he was a rebel, and deserved "to die."

thouſand, or twelve hundred German horſe. It is true, the Germans, who profeſt the ſame religion as our ſoldiers did, fired their pieces into the air. But the count of Egmont behaved like a man who was reſolved to conquer. He charged us with ſuch fury, that notwithſtanding the deſertion of the Germans, after a terrible fire, and an encounter which laſted a full quarter of an hour, the earth was covered with dead bodies. Our ſquadron fled on the left, and on the right they were broke and gave ground. At the firſt onſet, my horſe was wounded in the noſtrils, and in the neck at a ſecond, where the ſaddle did not reach, and a third quite overpowered him, and carried away two of his feet, and a piece of fleſh off the calf of my leg. I received another wound in my hand. A piſtol-ſhot gave me a third more conſiderable; the ball entered my hip, and came out near my belly. I ſhould certainly have been killed, if my equery had not flown to my aſſiſtance with another horſe, upon which I mounted, though with great difficulty. This inſtance of affection drew a great many wounds upon poor Maignan, and had like to have coſt him his life.

At a ſecond charge, this horſe was likewiſe ſlain, and in the ſame moment I received a piſtol-ſhot in the thigh, and a cut with a ſword on the head. I fell to the earth, and with my ſenſes loſt all the remaining part of the action, which from the advantage the count of Egmont had already gained, boded no good to us. All I know is, that a long time after, recovering my ſenſes, I ſaw neither enemies, nor any of my domeſtics, near me, whom terror, and the diſorder, had diſperſed; another preſage which appeared to me no leſs unfavourable.

I retired without a head-piece, and almoſt without armour, for in the battle mine had been battered to pieces. In this condition I ſaw a trooper of the enemy's running towards me, with an intention to take away my life. By good fortune I found

found myſelf near a pear-tree, to which I crept, and with that little motion I was ſtill able to exert, made ſuch good uſe of the branches, which were extremely low, that I evaded all my adverſary's attempts, and kept him at a diſtance, who being weary with turning round the tree, at laſt quitted me. Feuquieres had not the like good fortune; he was killed that moment before my eyes. Juſt then la Rocheforêt (who has ſince been with me) paſſing by, I aſked him for a little nag which he was leading, and paid him for it upon the ſpot thirty crowns. It was always my opinion, that on ſuch occaſions, it is proper to carry a little money about one.

THUS mounted, I was going to learn news of the battle, when I ſaw ſeven of the enemy approach, one of whom carried the white ſtandard belonging to the duke of Maïenne's company. I thought it impoſſible to eſcape this new danger, and upon their crying, "*Qui vive?*" I told my name, as being ready to ſurrender myſelf a priſoner. But how was I aſtoniſhed, when inſtead of attacking me, I found four of theſe perſons intreating me to receive them for priſoners, and to ſave their lives; and while they ranged themſelves about me, appear rejoiced at this meeting! I granted their requeſt: and it ſeemed ſo ſurprizing to me, that four men unhurt, and well armed, ſhould ſurrender themſelves to a ſingle man, diſarmed, covered with his own blood, mounted upon a little paltry nag, and ſcarce able to ſupport himſelf, that I was tempted to take all I ſaw for an illuſion. But I was ſoon convinced of the truth of it. My priſoners (ſince they would be ſo) made themſelves known for monſieurs de Châtaigneraie †, de Sigogne, de Chanteloup, and d'Aufreville.

† John de Vivonne, lord of Châtaignaire. Charles de Beauſoncle, lord of Sigogne, cornet of the duke of Maïenne's company. The hiſtorians take notice of the priſoners monſieur de Roſny took in this encounter, and the wounds he received to the number of ſeven. It was for ſome time believed, that Henry IV. was ſlain. What gave riſe to this falſe report was the marquis of Neſle, who was that

They told me, that the duke of Maïenne had loſt the battle; that the king was that inſtant in purſuit of the vanquiſhed, which had obliged them to ſurrender, for fear of falling into worſe hands, their horſes not being in a condition to carry them out of danger; at the ſame time Sigogne, in token of ſurrender, preſented me with the white ſtandard. The three others, who were the duke of † Nemours, the chevalier d'Aumale, and Tremont, not ſeeming inclined to ſurrender, I endeavoured to perſuade them to do ſo, but in vain. After recommending their companions to me, ſeeing a body of the victors advance, they rode away, and ſhewed me that their horſes were ſtill vigorous enough to bear them from their enemies.

I ADVANCED with my priſoners towards a battalion of Swiſs, and meeting one of the king's chief pages, I gave him the ſtandard to carry, it being too weighty a burthen for me. I then ſaw more plainly the marks of our victory. The field was full of the fugitive leaguers and Spaniards, and the victorious army ‡ of the king purſuing and ſcattering the reſt of the larger bodies, had diſperſed, and were again drawing together. The Swiſs ſoldiers of the two armies, meeting, bullied each other with their pikes

day dreſt like the king, being ſeen ſurrounded by the enemy, and wounded in ſeveral places, of which he died. Matthieu, ibid.

† Charles of Savoy duke of Nemours.

‡ "The king cried, Spare the French, and fall upon the foreigners." Perefixe, ibid. part 2d. "Henry," ſays the author of the Henriade, "owed this victory to the ſuperiority of his ſkill and valour. But he confeſſed that Maïenne had performed all the duties of a great general; he had no fault," ſaid he, "but in the cauſe he ſupported." The duke of Maïenne would have been taken, but for his precaution in breaking the bridge of Ivry as he fled. But by that means he expoſed the German horſe and foot to be ſlaughtered there, twelve hundred of which were killed upon the ſpot; a like number of French infantry, and a thouſand horſe. Some have made the loſs much greater. Of the royaliſts, five hundred private men, and about twenty gentlemen were killed. This battle was fought between Dreux and Nonancourt, at the villages of St. André and Foucrainville.

lowered, without ſtriking a blow, or making any other motion.

THE white ſtandard embroidered with black flowers-de-luce, was known by every one to be that of the Guiſes, which they bore in memory, and through horror, of the aſſaſſination of Blois, and drew great numbers to it, as to a prey equally rich and honourable. The black velvet coats of my priſoners, which were covered with ſilver croſſes, glittered from afar in the field. The firſt who flew to ſeize them, were meſſieurs de Cambrai, de l'Archant, du Rollet, de Crevecœur, de Palcheux, and de Braſſeuſe, who were joined by the count de Torigny. I advanced towards them, and ſuppoſing they would not know my face, diſfigured by blood and duſt, I named myſelf. The count de Torigny no ſooner knew la Châtaigneraie, who was his relation, than judging that, in the condition he ſaw me, I ſhould not be able to preſerve my priſoners from inſult, he intreated me to give Châtaigneraie to his care, for whom he would be anſwerable. I readily granted his requeſt, yet it was with regret that I ſaw him go away. What Torigny did through a principle of friendſhip, had a fatal conſequence for the unhappy Châtaigneraie. Some moments after he was known by three men belonging to d'O's company, who had been guard to Henry III. Theſe men levelling their pieces at him, ſhot him dead, crying, "'Sdeath! thou traitor to thy king, whom "thou haſt murdered, and triumphed in the deed."

I MIGHT have made the count of Torigny pay this priſoner's ranſom, and I was adviſed by ſeveral perſons to do ſo; but I could not reſolve to add this new cauſe of affliction to what he already felt for the death of a man, with whom I had myſelf been well acquainted.

I SOON ſaw myſelf ſurrounded by many perſons, amongſt whom there was not one that did not envy

my good fortune. D'Andelot § came after the reſt, and paſſing through the croud, perceived Sigogne, and the page who carried the ſtandard. He was preparing to ſeize it, believing his good fortune had preſerved this prize for him, when a report that the enemies had rallied, obliged him to go away abruptly. I had not time to draw him out of his error; for after he had bid the page keep that ſtandard for him, he ſuddenly diſappeared. The news was found to be falſe, and had no other foundation than the arrival of two hundred ſoldiers from Picardy, which meſſieurs de Mouy * and de la Boiſſiere had brought to the duke of Maïenne.

Being now diſengaged from the croud, and finding myſelf in need of help, eſpecially for the wound in my hip, by which I loſt a great deal of blood, I advanced with my prize to the head of ‡ Vignoles' regiment, which had behaved bravely in the battle. Here fearing no further ſurprize, I aſked for a ſurgeon to bind up my wound, and deſired ſome wine to prevent fainting, which I found coming upon me. My ſtrength being a little renewed, I got to Anet, the keeper of which gave me an apartment, where I cauſed the firſt dreſſing to be put on my wounds in the preſence of the marechal Biron, who ſpent a few moments there after my arrival, and took ſome refreſhment in my chamber. He was conducting the corps de reſerve, which he commanded, to the king, who, without ſtopping after his victory, had paſſed the river of Eure, in purſuit of the enemies; and, as I was told, took at laſt the road to Roſny, where he lay the ſame night †.

§ Charles de Coligny, marquis d'Andelot, one of the admiral de Coligny's ſons.

* Charles d'Humieres. The vol. of manuſcripts in the king's library, 8930, is filled with his great actions. Charles, marquis de Mouy, or Moy. Chriſtopher de Lanoy de Boiſſiere, governor of Corbie. ‡ Bertrand de Vignoles.

† "That night he ſupped at the caſtle of Roſny. Being informed "that the marechal d'Aumont was come to give him an account of "what

After the marechal Biron was gone, d'Andelot arrived at Anet, full of resentment against me for taking away his prize; for so he thought it. He entered my chamber, attended by five or six armed men, and with an air equally fierce and insulting, demanded an explanation, or rather sought to do himself justice; for perceiving the white standard, which, with that belonging to my commpany, had been placed at the head of my bed, he would have taken possession of it by force, without attending to what I said. I changed my tone immediately, and high words passed between us. In the condition wherein I was, I could do no more. But he speaking with fury, and making use of threats, the noise drew fifteen or twenty of my troopers into the chamber, at the sight of whom d'Andelot restraining his rage, went out, commanding Sigogne to follow him, which he refused, and endeavoured, but in

"what he had done, he rose up to meet him, and embracing him "affectionately, made him sit down at his table, with these obliging words, that it was but just, that he who had served him so "well at his nuptials, should share the feast." Perefixe ibid. 2d part.

Monsieur de Perefixe, in the same place, relates another circumstance, which does honour to the king. "He remembered that, "the evening before the battle, he had used some harsh expressions "to colonel Theodoric Schomberg, who had asked him for money, "and told him in a passion, that it was not acting like a man of "honour to demand money, when he came to take orders for fighting. "He afterwards went to him, when he was ranging his troops in "order, and said, Colonel, we are now upon the point; perhaps I "shall never go from this place, it is not just that I should deprive a "brave gentleman as you are of your honour; I come therefore to "declare, that I know you to be an honest man, and incapable of "committing a base action. Saying this, he embraced him with "great affection. The colonel, sensibly moved with this behaviour, "replied, with tears in his eyes, Ah! Sire, in restoring to me my "honour, you take away my life; for after this I should be unworthy of your favour, if I did not sacrifice it to-day for your service. "If I had a thousand lives, I would lay them all at your feet. In "fact, he was killed upon this occasion." Ibid.

The marechal Biron, who at the head of the corps de reserve, had greatly contributed towards this victory, said to Henry IV. "Sire, you "have performed what Biron should, and Biron has done that which "the king ought to have done."

vain, to make him comprehend the injustice of his pretensions.

The next morning I caused myself to be carried by water to Passy, with an intention to go to Rosny, to finish my cure. On my arrival, I learned that part of the soldiers in my train, and my valets, with all my baggage, had retired thither, not knowing what was become of me, and intimidated by a report which was spread, that the king had lost the battle. Being apprehensive of the reproaches I might make them, they kept themselves concealed. I caused them to be sought for, but they were so much ashamed of their cowardice, that the following night they fled away on foot; nor have I since been ever able to get any intelligence of them. They left all my baggage behind them, with four of their own horses, which I ordered to be sold, and distributed the money amongst their wounded companions.

As I was not in a condition to mount a horse, I ordered a kind of litter, composed of the branches of trees, with the bark still on, and the hoops of some vessels, to be made for me in haste, and travelled by Beurons, to avoid the ascents and declivities of Rougevoie, and Châtillon.

Maignan, who was a youth of a lively imagination, thought proper to give this march the air of a little triumph. Two of the grooms of my stable were at the head of this train, each leading one of my finest horses; they were followed by my pages, one of whom rode on my horse, the same who having received three wounds in the battle, and being thrown to the ground by a fourth, got up again without a saddle, and running about the field, was fortunately known by three of my arquebusiers. This page carried my cuirass, and the duke of Maïenne's standard; the other bore my bracelets, and my helmet, so bruised, that it was no longer of any use. My equery, the contriver of this diverting scene, marched next, with his head bound up, and his arm in

in a ſcarf: he was followed by Moreines, my valet de chambre, dreſt in my coat of orange-coloured velvet, with thin plates of ſilver, and mounted upon my Engliſh nag, holding in his hand, as a trophy, a bundle of the ſhivers of my piſtols, the broken pieces of my ſwords, and the tattered remains of my plume of feathers. The litter in which I lay came next, covered only with a cloth, upon which they had hung the black velvet coats of my priſoners, with their plumes, and pieces of their piſtols and ſwords at the four corners. The priſoners themſelves followed my litter, and preceded the reſt of my domeſtics; after whom, ranged in order, came my own company of ſoldiers, and the march was cloſed with James's and Badet's two companies of arquebuſiers. They had ſuffered ſo much in the battle, that there was not one of them who had not his head bound up, and his arm in a ſcarf, and ſome of theſe brave ſoldiers were even obliged to be carried by their companions.

When we came near Beurons, we perceived all the plain covered with horſes and dogs; and the king himſelf, who, after a ſlight repaſt, had returned from Roſny to Mante, and was hunting there in my warren. This ſhew ſeemed to pleaſe him; he thought it very happily diſpoſed, and ſmiled at the vanity of Maignan, who had the honour of being known to this prince, ever ſince his father, who was a very brave man, had made himſelf remarkable at the taking of Eauſe. The king approached my litter, and in the ſight of his whole train, diſdained not to give me ſuch proofs of tenderneſs and concern, as (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) one friend would do to another. I could not expreſs my gratitude by throwing myſelf at his feet, but I aſſured him, and with truth, that I would gladly ſuffer a thouſand times more for his ſervice. He required, with an obliging ſolicitude, whether all my wounds were of ſuch a nature, that I might hope to

be cured without mutilating any part of my body, which he thought almoſt impoſſible, knowing that I had been thrown down ſenſeleſs, and trampled under the horſes feet. When he was convinced that I had nothing to fear, he caſt himſelf upon my neck, and turning to the princes and noblemen who followed him, he ſaid aloud, that he honoured me with the title of a true and honeſt knight, a title which he ſaid, he thought ſuperior to that of a knight-companion of his orders. Being apprehenſive that I ſhould hurt myſelf by ſpeaking too much, he put an end to this agreeable converſation with his uſual proteſtation, that I ſhould ſhare in whatever good fortune heaven ſhould ſend him; and, leaving me, ſaid, "Farewel, my friend, take care of yourſelf, and, "depend upon it, you have a good maſter." There are princes who are capable of gratitude, but this quality is ſeldom increaſed, or even kept, in ſucceſs.

* * *

BOOK IV.

THE ſame day that the king gained the battle of Ivry, his party alſo prevailed in Auvergne*, where Randan commanded the troops of the league; but fortune, as it ſhould ſeem, when ſhe gave this prince ſucceſs ſufficient to put him in poſſeſſion of ſeveral crowns, took pleaſure, at the ſame time, in producing circumſtances which hindered the effect, and left him no other fruit of his victories than the ſole glory of having conquered. After the battle of Ivry, terror and conſternation ſeized the whole party of the league, ſo that it ſeemed hardly poſſible for the king, who was now reſolved to let ſlip none of his advantages, to have failed of drawing very great ones

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* At Iſſoire. See an account of it in Cayet, ibid. 329. De Thou, &c. John Lewis de la Rochefoucault, count of Randan.

ones from the present posture of his affairs. Nor did he expect to have seen them ravished from him by a general mutiny in his army, particularly of the Swiss, who refused to advance a step farther, till they were paid those sums the king owed them.

THIS prince had then neither money nor means in readiness to recover any. He came to Mante, to demand some of the superintendant of the finances. This man, who secretly hated the king, and beheld his success with grief, took pleasure in adding to his perplexities, and had but one answer to make to all his solicitations. In this time of confusion, when the royal treasure became a prey to the first possessor, the finances were very difficult to manage, and the king's revenues scarce sufficient to satisfy the avarice of the receivers, which generally increased with public misery. Henry wanted that absolute authority, which alone was able to check them, and still more the means of convicting them of any misdemeanor; for he had not the slightest knowledge of the affairs of the finances. Notwithstanding this, he entered into a detail which became necessary for him, and obliged * d'O to deliver up certain sums, which it was not difficult to see had passed through his hands. These sums he made use of to pacify his soldiers; but this affair took up at least five days, during which the king could not leave Mante, and consequently derive no advantage from his victory. I remember to have heard this prince declare, that he now, for the first time in his whole life, saw himself in a situation to convert his desires into designs: "for I "have often had desires, said he, but never found a "fit opportunity to form designs." He gave the same signification to this last term that all wise men do; a scheme, the success of which is secured by reflec-

* Francis d'O, lord d'O, de Maillebois, and de Fresne, master of the wardrobe to Henry III. first gentleman of the chamber, superintendant of the finances, governor of Paris, and isle of France. He will be mentioned hereafter.

tion and prudence: and it is in this sense which every one wishes to take what seems right in his own opinion, without prejudice to any other person; but it is fools only who rashly engage in designs, without any appearance of succeeding in them.

During his stay at Mante, d'Andelot went to him to complain of me, and this prince gave himself the trouble to come to Rosny, that he might hear us both. D'Andelot was there generally condemned, and the raillery his ridiculous claim drew upon him from the principal officers, made such an impression on his mind, that he went over to the party of the league. I did not think the same justice was done to me with regard to the government of Mante, the taking of which was almost the only consequence of the battle of Ivry. The king, of whom I requested this post, bestowed it on a catholic †, at which I made loud complaints. I confess, to my confusion, that if I had seriously considered the situation the king was then in, every moment upon the point of being abandoned by the foreigners for want of payment, and those catholics that were in his service, ready to seize the slightest occasion of disgust for a pretence to quit him, I should not have murmured, that he granted to a catholic, who had but little affection to his person, what he refused to a faithful servant. There was more greatness of mind in being satisfied with the friendship of this prince, independent of its effects, than in receiving favours, which were determined by policy, and the necessity of the time.

All obstacles being removed, the king advanced with his troops, took Dreux, and marched towards Sens, which he expected to have surrendered through the correspondence he held within the city; but this failed, and Henry, unwilling to come so far in vain, and being besides informed that the place was desti-

† This government was given to monsieur de Rosny's youngest brother.

tute

tute of ammunition, he undertook the siege of it. It was not long before he found himself, through the malice of his secret enemies, in a general want of all things necessary to finish this enterprize, and was therefore obliged to abandon it. To efface the shame, he gave out, that he raised this siege, in order to go and invest Paris itself, and he took his rout thither by Corbeil, Meulan, Lagny, and St. Denis ‡, which he seized in his way.

I was not at any of these sieges; and my wounds were not yet half cured, when I learnt that the king had invested Paris; and not able to resist the desire I had to be present at this expedition, I set out, with my arm however in a scarf, and supported by two crutches. The king, forgetting all my complaints, received me with his usual goodness, and commanded me to stay near his person. He communicated to me the design he had formed upon Paris, which he was resolved at the same time to carry into execution over all the suburbs; in order to deprive the city of the subsistence it drew from them, such as fruit, vegetables, &c. He divided his army into ten little bodies, to equal the number of the suburbs he designed to storm; and having made choice of the night for the execution of his scheme, he withdrew to the mountain of Montmartre, that he might send supplies wherever there was occasion for them. He placed himself in an abbey, where he was not only followed by the wounded, who could have no share in the glory of that night, but by all the aged, and the gentlemen of the robe and pen. He made me stay with him at a window, from whence he viewed the action; during which, he conversed with Du-Plessis, Rusé, de Fresne, Alibour *, and I.

‡ Cities of the isle of France.

* Du-Plessis-Mornay; Martin Rusé, lord of Beaulieu; and Peter Forget, lord of Fresne; his majesty's secretaries; Alibour his physician.

THE attack began at midnight, with a frightful noise of the artillery, which was answered by that of the city. There was not one person, who did not think that this immense city would be destroyed, either by the fire of the artillery, or the mines kindled in its bowels: never was there a spectacle more capable of inspiring horror. Thick clouds of smoke, through which darted by intervals sparks of fire, or long trains of flames, covered all that space of earth, which, by the vicissitude of light and darkness, seemed now plunged in thick shades of night, and now swallowed up in a sea of fire. The thunder of the artillery, the clashing of arms, and the cries of the combatants, added to this object all that can be imagined terrible, which was still increased by the natural horror of night. This scene continued two whole hours, and was closed with the reduction of all the suburbs, not excepting that of St. Antoine; although by its great extent we were obliged to begin the attack at a considerable distance. They blocked up the city-gates, so that nothing could enter without the permission of those who guarded them; and the people immediately saw themselves reduced to an excess of misery and famine, which I cannot yet think of without horror.

I MUST be permitted to pass slightly over this part; I cannot, with any pleasure, enlarge upon so dreadful a subject. The king, naturally compassionate, was moved with the distress of the Parisians: he could not bear the thoughts of seeing this city, the empire of which was destined for him by Providence, become one vast church-yard. He secretly permitted every thing that could contribute to its relief, and affected not to observe the supplies of provisions which the officers and soldiers suffered to enter the city, either out of compassion to their relations and friends who were in it, or with a design to make the citizens purchase them at a high price. Without doubt, he imagined this conduct would gain him the

the hearts of the Parisians; but he was deceived, they enjoyed his benefits without ceasing to look upon him as the author of their miseries, and, elated with the prince of Parma's arrival, they insulted him, who only raised the siege because he was too much affected with the miseries of the besieged *.

* Perefixe, Cayet, and many others are also of opinion, that the king was witheld from taking Paris by storm, and from yielding to the repeated intreaties of his soldiers, particularly the huguenots, by his having perceived, that on this occasion they were resolved to revenge the massacre of St. Bartholomew, by putting all within Paris to the sword. "The duke of Nemours, says Perefixe, sent all useless mouths "out of Paris: the king's council opposed his granting them a passage; "but the king, being informed of the dreadful scarcity to which these "miserable wretches were reduced, ordered that they should be al-"lowed to pass. I am not surprized, said he, that the Spaniards, and "the chiefs of the league, have no compassion upon these poor peo-"ple, they are only tyrants; as for me, I am their father and their "king, and cannot hear the recital of their calamities, without being "pierced to my inmost soul, and ardently desiring to bring them re-"lief." Perefixe, part 2d. The cardinal de Gondy, bishop of Paris, having been sent, during this siege, to make Henry propositions for peace: "I will not dissemble, said he, but discover my sentiments to "you freely. I am willing to grant you peace, I desire it myself; I "would give one finger to have a battle, and two to have a general "peace: I love my city of Paris, I am jealous of her, I am desirous of "doing her service, and would grant her more favours than she de-"mands of me; but I would grant them voluntarily, and not be com-"pelled to it by the king of Spain or the duke of Maïenne." It may be added, that Henry IV. expected the Parisians would capitulate before the prince of Parma's arrival. The extremity to which this city was reduced, raised at once compassion and horror: in the space of a month, 30,000 persons died of hunger: mothers fed upon the flesh of their children: by the Spanish ambassador's advice, they dug up the dead bodies, and made use of their bones pounded, to compose a kind of paste. This detestable food cost the greatest part of those who eat of it their lives. See a relation of this in the historians, particularly in the second volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of state, p. 358, &c. Read also the fine verses of the Henriade upon this subject, canto the tenth. The Parisians owed their safety chiefly to the duke of Nemours; whose gallant defence has been lightly praised by our writers. The people seconded him with an obstinate eagerness, which had more of fury than true courage in it. A regiment of priests and monks were seen there, Capuchins, Folietanis, Carthusians, &c. grotesquely armed above their frocks. This aukward regiment being eager to salute the legate, killed his secretary at his side. The monks of St. Genevieve, St. Victor, the Benedictins, the Celestins, and some orders, would have no part in this military masquerade. Cayet's Chron. Novenn. ibid. 360.

To justify an action, in itself as much blamed by the masters in the art of war, as praised for its motive by hearts truly benevolent, the king caused it to be reported, that his design in raising the siege of Paris was to go and meet the prince of Parma †, and by a decisive action put an end to a war already too long. He made use of all the precautions necessary to secure a safe retreat from a city so populous as Paris, and commanded every one to hold themselves in readiness for a general signal; to the end that, all the suburbs being evacuated in a moment, no person might remain at the mercy of the populace. This retreat required great wisdom and address, and was happily effected on the first or second of September in the same year; after which the whole army arrived at the common rendezvous, without meeting with any accident.

THE king ‡ knowing that the prince of Parma was in the neighbourhood of Meaux, came and posted himself between this city and Paris, and made his light horse advance as far as Claye §; where the two camps being so contiguous, several smart encounters ensued. The king, upon the marechal Biron's representations, preferred to this post that of ‖ Chelles, and went thither contrary to his own opinion; for he looked upon Claye to be a more advantageous post, and at the same time fitter to shut up the road to Paris from the enemy's general; for he had still views upon the city, and carried on a correspondence within it, which if the prince of

† Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma and Placentia, son to Octavio Farnese, and Margaret of Austria, natural daughter to Charles V. He married Mary of Portugal, by whom he had Ranuccio Farnese, duke of Parma, and Odoard Farnese, cardinal.

‡ De Thou says, that Henry IV. was obliged to pretend, that he only raised the siege of Paris in order to go and meet the prince of Parma, and to give him battle; for fear that his soldiers, whom the hopes of the plunder of Paris had only prevailed upon to stay with him, should abandon him. Book xcix.

§ A town between Paris and Meaux. ‖ Ibid.

Parma

Parma had entered, would have failed him, and which it did notwithstanding. The king then took possession of a rising-ground, which on one side presented nothing to view but a deep valley and a morass, that took away all possibility of acting in that place. The prince of Parma perceiving this, encamped on a hill opposite to ours. It was neither his design nor his interest to hazard a battle, but to give us a check; his camp answered this purpose exactly, as he was there sheltered from any attack, and out of the reach of the cannon. The king became sensible of the error, which too much complaisance for the opinion of another had drawn him into; when, after remaining two or three days in this position, he saw * Lagny taken before his eyes, without having it in his power to prevent it †.

This event, joined to his raising the siege of Paris, mortified him extremely, because he was sensible that it might be concluded from thence, that the enemy was superior to him in judgment, which this prince considered as a matter of great importance in war. What gave him still more uneasiness was, that none were more ready to believe, or even to spread these disadvantageous reports, than the catholics of his own army. What reliance could he have on the assistance of persons, by whom the disobedience of

* A city of Brie upon the Marne.

† The duke of Sully is more candid than the greatest part of the historians, who will not confess that Henry IV. committed any fault upon this occasion. They cannot agree among themselves, either about the raising the siege of Paris, or all these different encampments. Villeroy in his Memoirs mentions this circumstance in the same manner as Sully does; and attributes to that one fault of preferring the post of Chelles to Claye, all the honour the prince of Parma gained by obliging the king to raise the siege of Paris, without coming to a battle; the taking of Lagny, &c. vol. I. p. 190. vol. II. p. 466. See likewise upon all these expeditions Matthieu, ibid. 53, &c. and other historians. The prince of Parma was desirous of seeing Paris, and entered it incognito. "I am informed," said he to the duke of Maïenne, "that the king of Navarre makes more use of boots than shoes, and "that to ruin him we must protract the time, and employ delays, rather than force." Cayet's Chron. Novenn. ibid. 390.

his

his soldiers, and his want of money, were occasioned? and he was convinced that this disposition with regard to him was an incurable malady, which his good or his bad fortune equally increased. Such is the hatred that religion is the foundation of! and in the end, the king had a thousand fatal proofs of it.

He now resolved upon a very prudent measure, and indeed the only one that was left him. No longer persisting in his design of taking Paris, which so many circumstances concurred to ruin, he quitted his post at Chelles, where he ran great hazards with an army whose interests clashed with those of its leader, and suddenly abandoning all those quarters, retreated to the river of Oise, and fixed at * Creil; where, without ceasing to harrass the prince of Parma, he suffered him slowly to consume of himself. During this time, he made no other motions than what served to hinder his army from being enervated by sloth. He laid siege to † Clermont, and continued it by frequent detachments. My company he posted in the neighbourhood of Mante, to keep the country of Chartrain, and part of the isle of France, in order. I obtained leave to continue near his person, though I was not in a condition to do him any very great services; the wound in my hip not permitting me to sit my horse but with great uneasiness, and that in my elbow took away the use of one of my hands.

It happened as the king had foreseen: the prince of Parma boasted of his advantage in being master of the field; and that he might make use of it, laid siege to Corbeil. The king had provided this place, as well as all the other royalist towns, with whatever was necessary to enable them to hold out against a long siege. The enemy's general, who did not expect this, was astonished at the firm resistance of Rigaut, governor of Corbeil, whom he a long time despaired of subduing; but thinking his honour

* A town upon the Oise. † In Beauvaisis.

was engaged in this undertaking, he continued his efforts, and ſucceeded at laſt. It was with this only exploit, however, that the campaign ended; he had bought it too dear to attempt a ſecond at the ſame price; and not being able to effect any thing upon the king's army, any more than his towns, he thought the wiſeſt thing he could do was to return to the Low Countries: which he did, to the extreme regret of the league, whom his preſence had greatly relieved.

He judged, like an able general, that the king, who had (if the expreſſion may be allowed) cloſed his eyes upon all the advances he had made, would open them upon his retreat; and that this would not be effected with the ſame eaſe as the reſt. He was not miſtaken; but he acted with ſo much prudence, that he prevented the laſt misfortune which muſt unavoidably have happened to any other. Notwithſtanding all his precautions, the king, by an infinite number of attacks and ſkirmiſhes, ſometimes beat up his quarters, and brought him within an inch of his ruin. The moſt conſiderable of theſe little battles, was at the paſſage over the river of Aîne. It was upon this occaſion, that the baron de Biron * engaged himſelf ſo far among the enemies battalions, that if the king had not run thither in perſon, with as many of us as were about him, and made a powerful effort to bring him off, he would have loſt his life there, or at leaſt his liberty.

I was able to keep my rank with the reſt during this whole march, which was an excellent ſchool for a ſoldier to learn his trade in. It no leſs juſtified the conduct the king had till then obſerved, than it did him honour by the manner in which he executed it. Laying aſide only the terms of ignominious and ſhameful, which the courtiers, eager to pleaſe this prince, joined (in my opinion very unjuſtly) to the prince of Parma's retreat, it is cer-

* Charles de Gontaut, ſon to the marechal.

tain,

tain, that the manner in which the king rendered an army useless, which had promised itself the conquest of all France, his bravery in attacking a powerful enemy who retreated not through weakness, and his dexterity in seizing all advantages, gave matter for admiration to persons consummate in the art of war, and equally struck the eyes of the ignorant †. The king's conduct upon this occasion, gave his partisans new courage. Several towns submitted, and some catholics came over to his side; among others, the duke of Nevers, who brought his troops along with him, either because he began to be afraid of him, or was disgusted with the league.

It was not such allies as these that I wished the king: I found he dearly bought by his compliances the assistance of a man, who might have been indeed of some use to him; but who, in my opinion, only increased the number of his secret enemies * in the council: for thus I cannot help calling all those interested catholics, who carried every thing there with a high hand, and thought they had a right to give laws to Henry.

During this prince's stay in the neighbourhood of Mante, I took Gisors, by means of a correspondence, which a gentleman in my company,

† "Henry IV. says father Matthieu, when he was in pursuit of the "prince of Parma, stole away from Attichy, and went, for the first "time, to see the beautiful Gabriella at Cœuvres. He contented "himself with eating some bread and butter at the gate, that he "might not raise any suspicion in her father. Afterwards mounting his "horse, he said, he was going towards the enemy, and that the "fair one should soon hear what he had performed through his passion for her." Vol. II. p. 59.

* By all the letters that passed between the duke of Nevers and Henry III. which are at the end of the first volume of the Memoirs that bear his name, it appears, that the duke of Nevers served this prince effectually against the league, but without any kindness to the king of Navarre. When he joined this prince, their reciprocal letters shew, that the services he did Henry IV. were considerable indeed, but that he exacted a very high price for them, and that it was with difficulty Henry bore with his caprice, his jealousy, and his bad temper.

named

named Fourges, carried on with his father, who was in the place. I did not imagine the government of this city would have been refused me; but it happened in this instance as it had done in others. Messieurs de Nevers, d'O, and other catholics, put in practice all those mean artifices, which procured them favours, that ought only to have been the rewards of merit, and prevailed upon the king to give this post to one of their own religion.

I was too sincere to dissemble my thoughts of such injustice; I chose to explain myself upon this subject at the very time when all these gentlemen might hear what I said, and concealed nothing that lay upon my heart. The king, who was a better politician than I was, seemed not to be moved with my invectives against the catholics, although he secretly agreed that I was injured, and only answered me coldly, "I perceive you are heated at present; "we will talk of this affair another time. I must "confess, added he after I retired, that he has "some reason for his complaints; his temper is "naturally fiery: however, he will never be guilty "of any thing base or wicked, for he is a good "man, and loves honour." In the first emotions of my anger, I left my company to the care of my lieutenant, and went to take a tour in the valley of Aillant, and to Combrailles, upon my wife's estate, taking only six gentlemen, and my domestics with me. I did not expect to be employed in any military duties in this journey; but while I was at Bontin, the count of Tonnerre * prevailed upon me, to assist him in an attempt he made upon Joigny. His design was to force with a petard a postern-gate, which for a long time before had not been opened, and through that to enter the town. Tonnerre, for this exploit, had only two hundred arquebusiers, which he had got together in haste. They followed him

* Francis Henry, count of Clermont and Tonnerre.

about

about two hundred steps into the city; but here their leader falling by a shot from an arquebuse, terror seized them, and they hastily retreated towards the postern, carrying the wounded count along with them. Their danger, or rather their fear redoubling, they had the baseness to leave him upon the pavement, about thirty steps from the postern; where he would have been cut to pieces by the citizens, if I had not flown to his assistance, with only twenty men: for notwithstanding all my endeavours, I could not prevail upon those cowardly soldiers to face about. However, I rescued Tonnerre, who took the road to Gien, of which he was governor; after which I mustered up his brave troop, and resumed my way to Bontin.

The remembrance of the king's former goodness to me, and an invincible inclination, drew me back to him. I found him employed in the siege of Chartres †; the taking of which was principally owing to the valour and address of Châtillon ‡. I was prevented from being present at this siege, by an adventure the most dangerous I was ever engaged in, in my whole life; nor have the intentions of the authors of it, or even their names, ever come to my knowledge.

† "The magistrate of this city made him a very long harangue; "and telling him, that he acknowledged the city was subject to the "king, by divine and human right; the king, out of patience at "his prolixity, interrupted him, pushing forward his horse to enter, "and said, Ay, and add also by the cannons right." Father Chalon's history of France, vol. III. p. 227. This siege was long and bloody. See Matthieu, vol. II. p. 63. Cayet, vol. II. p. 415. and other historians.

‡ Francis de Coligny, son to the admiral, and admiral of Guyenne. He died this year 1591, in his castle of Louve, thirty years of age, leaving by Margaret d'Ailly de Péquigny, three sons. The calvinist party had a great loss in him, for it is believed, that if he had lived, he would even have excelled his father. De Thou, book cii. Three sons of d'Andelot, the admiral's brother, died at one time, in the year 1586, their names were Laval, Sailly, and Rieux. They were sons of Francis de Coligny, and Claude de Breaux, sole heiress of the house of Laval. Book lxxxv.

Returning

RETURNING from an assault which Châtillon made upon the body of the place, by means of a bridge of a new and very ingenious structure, the king, who observed that my former ardour for his service was not diminished, called me, and commanded me to bring my company before Chartres. I was obliged to go and get my men together myself, and at the same time to provide every thing necessary for their maintenance. About three leagues from Mante, near the town of Touvery, I saw a brigade of twenty horse in the field, which I ordered Tilly to reconnoitre. Upon his information that they bore white scarfs, I advanced without fear or precaution: as for them, continuing their rout, as if they had not even seen us, they struck into the wood; from which, according to the course of the road I had taken, I could not expect to see them come out. I rode on with Tilly, La-Poterie, and La-Ruë, before the rest of my troop, which consisted only of six other gentlemen, and four servants, who followed at some distance separately. These troopers, or robbers, I know not what to call them, knew the road perfectly, and had taken their measures so well, that they met us at the passage out of the forest, just where our road crossed theirs. The two first took off their hats, when to the word, Qui vive? we answered, Vive le roi; but at the same time taking advantage of our security, fired close to our breasts. I saw three of the foremost take aim particularly at me. There was no probability that any of us would have escaped; but doubtless, precipitation, fear, and the terrors of conscience, caused the hands of these villains to tremble, so that of three shots at me, one only reached me, which entering my lip, came out at the nape of my neck: it appeared to me, that La-Poterie and Tilly received the two others in their cloaths. La-Ruë was the only person who fell.

THE rest of my troop running up at the noise, sur-

surrounded me, crying, "Vive Rosny" We all together charged our assailants, who retired, firing, to a village, covered with hedges, where we lost sight of them. They continued only to fire upon us from within the houses, which covered my face with small shot. By this circumstance I concluded, that our adversaries were of intelligence with the country; and that this village was full of soldiers, who only sought, perhaps, to draw us nearer. After several times calling to these traitors to turn and accept a defiance, I thought it was the wisest way to leave them, and take some care of my wounds; especially that in my neck, which was the most considerable, and by which I lost a great deal of blood. I got to Touvery, where, in the house of monsieur * d'Auteuil, I put the first dressing upon them, and from thence retired to Mante, where I was six weeks under the surgeons hands. During this space, the king's army not only seized Chartres, but Corbie likewise. Parabere had the conduct of this siege, in the absence of the king, who was kept at St. Quentin ‡, by his new passion for mademoiselle d'Estrées †.

* M. de Combault d' Auteuil.

‡ It is to this year, and while Henry IV. staid at St. Quentin, that we must bring back this prince's letter to M. de Rosny, which is without date, and may be seen amongst the MSS. of the king's library, the contents of which perfectly agree with the text of our Memoirs, and is as follows: "All the news I have from *Mante* "are, that you have been fatigued, and are much emaciated: if you "have any desire to refresh yourself and grow fat, it is my opinion, "that you ought to come hither; mean time your brother will send "us news from thence of our siege at Chartres, &c."

From several places in these Memoirs, where the share Henry IV. gave to M. de Rosny in all his resolutions is mentioned, particularly that relating to his conversion, which we shall come to presently, we may infer, that this prince had always an entire confidence in him. I have transcribed the foregoing letter to shew by another testimony, that this opinion is not ill founded; and that the duke of Sully has not through vanity imposed upon his readers. The historians have not mentioned this minister till he began to appear publicly at the head of affairs. 'Tis more than probable, that a long time before that, he had been the soul of all the actions and councils of Henry the Great. 'Tis

THE siege of Noyon followed that of Corbie. There is none which I could have more wished to have given a circumstantial relation of than this, if I had been a witness of it. A thousand brave actions were performed by the besieged. The duke of Maïenne, who knew this place was of great importance to the league, sent orders to the duke d'Aumale ‡, lieutenant-general, who was then at Ham with some of the forces of the party, not to neglect giving it all possible assistance till he approached. The duke d'Aumale endeavoured twice to throw succours into it; but la Chantelerie and Tremblecourt, who led them, were cut in pieces one after the other. The viscount de Tavannes ‖, major general, thinking he might be more successful, presented himself with four hundred arquebusiers: they met with a party of fifty or sixty horse, belonging to us; who, after the Qui vive, charged them boldly, and put them to flight: the principal officers, who would have resisted, were all wounded, and taken prisoners with Tavannes, their commander. D'Aumale flattered himself, that he should, in his turn, beat two quarters of light horse, which he had ordered Bellanglise to reconnoitre; but he found them mounted, and going to meet the king; and having attack-

'Tis easy to trace this time back to his most early youth; though indeed all the actions of the duke of Sully compose a life, wherein no period of it seems to have been that of youth. This advantage must be allowed to minds born, as it were, grave and serious, over those more lively and full of fire.

† She is often mentioned in the course of this work. Her name was Gabrielle; she was daughter of John Antony d'Estrées, and Frances Babou de la Bourdaisiere. She bore successively the names of the fair Gabrielle, madame de Liancourt, the marchioness of Monceaux, and duchess of Beaufort.

‡ Charles de Lorrain, duke d'Aumale, son of Claude, slain before Rochelle, in the year 1573. He was the third of Claude de Lorrain's sons; from whence issued all the branches of the house of Lorrain in France: that of d'Aumale was extinct soon after.

‖ John de Saulx, viscount of Tavannes, one of the marechals of the league. See a relation of the sieges of Noyon, Pierrefont, and of all the expeditions in the above-named historians.

ed them, these light horse, notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, defended themselves so long, and so bravely, that the baron de Biron, messieurs de la * Hargerie, and de la Boissiere, had time to come to their assistance: after which, these two troops joining, they defeated d'Aumale's whole detachment, which consisted of five hundred horse, and as many horse-arquebusiers. Very few reached Ham without wounds, and a great number of prisoners were taken.

The duke of Maïenne arriving at Ham at the very moment that these shattered remains retreated thither, was a witness of his loss, and protested publicly, that he would efface this shame, either by raising the siege of Noyon, or by a battle. He drew together all his forces, ordered the baron de Rosne † to bring him the Spanish troops under the command of the prince of Ascoli in Champagne; and finding himself at the head of nine hundred foot, and two hundred horse, he advanced towards Noyon. He forgot his oath, when he saw that he had to do with men, who seemed not to have perceived his arrival. The commander of Noyon had represented to him by a gentleman, whom the king permitted to pass through his army, that he had engaged to surrender the place in six days, if no succours were sent to him. The duke of Maïenne, the prince of Ascoli, and the duke of Aumale, suffered Noyon to be taken before their eyes. This commander certainly deserved to have been better seconded. His name was Rieux; and from a private soldier, became governor of Pierrefont, by his skill and bravery. Upon the report of Noyon's being attacked, he found means to throw himself into it, with fifty horse, and as many arquebusiers, to reassure this city, where all were in consternation and dismay, and to hold it out till the last extremity.

* Lewis d'Ognies de la Hargerie, count of Chaune.
† Christian de Savigny, baron of Rosne, in the duchy of Bar.

The

THE duke of Maïenne seeing that his army was now useless, sent it into quarters, and marched slowly towards Paris. He had long carried on a correspondence in Mante, and he now thought it time to execute his design upon that place. He privately drew out the garrisons of Paris, Dreux, and Pontoise, and suddenly presented himself within musquet-shot of this city, before day. My brother * was governor of it, and I was then there myself; my wound not permitting me to keep the field. As soon as I was informed of the enemies arrival, I ran upon the ramparts with my head bound up: and causing some discharges to be fired at the assailants, forced them to abandon their design.

THE duke of Maïenne succeded no better before Houdan †, which he alarmed as he passed by. My other brother, who was there with his regiment, and some companies, gave him such a reception, that he retreated with disgrace.

WHAT had happened at Mante, joined to the information my brother had received, convinced us, that the enemies had a correspondence in the city. After consulting together upon what was necessary to be done on this occasion, I fixed upon the following expedient: I had still in my pay six of those brave soldiers who served as a forlorn hope in the battle of Ivry, and to whom, besides their pay, I gave eight livres a month. They were then in my brother's garrison, to whom I could not refuse them, and their fidelity I was absolutely assured of. As it had been concerted with us two, they pretended to be discontented with the governor of Mante; and presenting themselves to the garrison of Pontoise, were received with open arms. They immediately proposed to d'Alincourt ‡, to make him master of

* Solomon de Bethune, called baron de Rosny, the author's youngest brother, and the third of those four brothers he mentioned at the beginning of these Memoirs.

† On the borders of France and Normandy.

* Charles de Neufville, marquis d'Alincourt, son to Nicolas de Neufville

Mante by the connection which they told him they still had in that place. To convince the governor of this, they asked for four soldiers, whom by my connivance they conveyed into Mante, and directed them to get acquainted with some citizens, who were well disposed to engage in all sorts of factions. In a little time every thing was agreed upon, and the day fixed for delivering up Mante to the league. These four soldiers found so little difficulty in the prosecution of their design, that d'Alincourt, believing the success of it infallible, would have all the honour of it to himself. My soldiers gave me exact information of all that was contriving in Pontoise, and the joy which so well concerted an enterprize occasioned there. The general council of the league, headed by the cardinal of Bourbon * resided in that city.

MEAN time I took my measures very deep, that no affectation might appear in my conduct. I caused trains of gunpowder to be laid upon the ramparts which they intended to scale, without any one's perceiving it; and shut up all the houses that stood near that side; after which I introduced into the place, by small divisions at different times, the best soldiers of the garrisons of Nogent, Vernon, and

Neufville de Villeroi, secretary of state: he will be mentioned afterwards.

* This is not the old cardinal, Charles of Bourbon, son of Charles of Bourbon, duke of Vendome, and brother to Antony king of Navarre, whom the league had proclaimed king. He died of the stone the year before, at Fontenai, in Poitou, whither Henry IV. had caused him to be removed from Chinon, aged sixty-seven years; a prince, who had reason to complain, that they obliged him to ascend a throne which had no allurements for him. He could not conceal his joy for the victory that Henry IV. gained at Coutras; and only accepted the crown, says Cayet, to preserve it for that prince whom he loved. Chron. Novenn. vol. I. book ii. p. 357. The person mentioned here, is the cardinal his nephew, named Charles after him, son to Lewis the first, prince of Condé, slain at Jarnac, and brother to the prince of Condé, who died at St. John d'Angely, to the prince of Conti, and the count of Soissons. He is mentioned in another place.

Meulan.

Meulan. This done, I thought myſelf obliged to ſend and inform the king, who was at Compeigne, of all that paſſed; which ruined our project. This prince could not reſiſt the deſire he had to receive the duke of Maïenne himſelf in Mante, and imagined he took ſufficient precaution againſt hurting our ſcheme, by not entering Mante till the night it was to be executed, and by carrying in with him only fifty horſe, and the ſame number of foot. As for me, when I ſaw him arrive, I was ſo well perſuaded that all our meaſures were broken, that I could not help reproaching him with ſome warmth for coming thus to undo our work, and expoſing, perhaps, the lives of the four ſoldiers, who conducted it, by means of the evidence that might appear againſt them. The king aſſuring me, that nothing of what I feared would happen, went to ſup at the governor's, and there, being fatigued with his long journey, threw himſelf upon a bed with his cloaths on, and large boots.

Day came, without any appearance of the enemies: I watched for them all night upon the ramparts with one of my brothers; the other ſtaid with the king. Juſt as I had retired to reſt, Bellengreville, whom I had ordered to obſerve the enemies motion without, came to me, and informed me, that the duke of Maïenne having received advice that ſome troops, led by the king in perſon, had entered Mante in the night, ſuppoſed his deſign was diſcovered, and retreated, after having advanced as far as Bourgenville. I carried him to the king, to whom he made the ſame report, and as a proof of the truth of what he ſaid, produced two carts, loaden with rope-ladders, and ſuch other inſtruments, which the leaguers, imagining they already ſaw the king at their heels, had left in the field, that they might not obſtruct their retreat. The affair became public and irretrievable; for the ſoldiers who eſcaped on both ſides, could not be ſilent.

THE king succeeded better at * Louviers. This city kept a priest † in its pay, who from the top of a belfrey, which he never left, played the part of a spy with great exactness. If he saw but a single person in the field, he rung a certain bell, and at the same side hung out a great flag. We did not despair of being able to corrupt his fidelity; which two hundred crowns, and a promise of a benefice worth three thousand livres a-year, effected. There remained only to gain some of the garrison; the sieur du Rollet took this upon himself, and succeeded. He addressed himself to a corporal and two soldiers; who easily prevailed upon the rest of the garrison to trust the guard of one of the gates to them only. Every thing being concluded upon, the king presented himself before Louviers, at twelve o'clock in the night ‡. No one rung the bell, nor was there the least motion in the garrison. Du Rollet entered, and opened the gate, through which the king passed, without the smallest resistance, into the center of the town. Fontaine-Martel made some ineffectual efforts to draw the garrison together; as for the citizens, they were employed in concealing their wives and daughters. This city, whose chief riches consisted in its magazines of linen and leather, was wholly pillaged I had a gentleman with me, called Beaugrard, a native of Louviers, who was of great use to us in discovering where these sort of goods were concealed, and a prodigious quantity of them was amassed together. The produce of my share amounted to three thousand livres. The care of Louviers was by the king consigned to du Rollet.

THE same good fortune attended the duke of Montpensier in all his enterprises in Normandy §.

* In Upper Normandy.

† This priest was called John de la Tour. ‡ June 5.

§ In the Lower Normandy, Falaize, Baïeux, Argentan, Lizieux, &c. were in the interest of the league: Caën, Alençon, Séez, Ecouché, &c. in the king's. The most considerable action happened in April 1589, in the field of Argentan, near Pierrefitte, Villers, and

This success was no more than necessary to comfort the king for the news he received, that the duke of Guise *, whom he considered as his principal enemy, had escaped from the castle of Tours, where he had been confined ever since the assassination at Blois. The king now resumed his former design of attempting Rouen. Secure of the assistance and affection of almost all the cities of Normandy, he quitted Mante, where for some time past he had fixed his abode, and made it a little capital for the residence of his court and council; and caused his troops to file off towards the city. While preparations were making for this important siege, Henry took a private journey to Compeigne, of which love was the true cause, though he gave out that it was to send to Germany for a recruit of horse. The viscount Turenne undertook this affair, through gratitude for the king's having effected, and honoured with his presence, his marriage with mademoiselle de Sedan †,

and Commeaux, where the duke of Montpensier cut off the leaguers of those cantons, whom they called Gautiers, to the number of five or six thousand. They were commanded by the count of Brissac, Pierrecourt, Louchan, the baron d'Echaufour, and others. Three thousand were left dead upon the spot, and a thousand taken prisoners; the rest escaped to Argentan. Commeaux, which at present is scarce a village, was taken with great difficulty. At length the duke of Montpensier extirpated this whole party, and reduced several of the rebellious cities. He was assisted by the count of Torigny, mess. d'Emery, de Loncaunai, de Beuvron, de Viques, de Bacqueville, l'Archant, and others. See these expeditions in the third volume of the Memoirs of the league.

* Charles of Lorrain, son of Henry duke of Guise, who was slain at Blois, and of Catherine of Cleves. He was born in the year 1571. "The flight of the duke of Guise will ruin the league," said Henry IV. as it is related by le Grain. The duke's valet de chambre having found means to amuse Rouvrai, and his guards, either by play, or drinking, let him down from the highest window in the castle, in the midst of the day, with a rope which he afterwards made use of to descend himself. The duke got into a small boat, which carried him to the other side of the river, where two horses waited for him, &c. Mathieu, vol. II. p. 81. Cayet, vol. II. book iii. p. 465, &c.

† Charlotte de la Mark, daughter of Robert de la Mark, sovereign prince of Sedan, and of Frances of Bourbon-Montpensier, by the death of her brother, William Robert de la Mark, duke of Bouillon, which

daughter, and ſole heireſs of the deceaſed duke of of Bouillon, which was concluded this year. Nor was I, for my part, ſorry that this retreat gave me an opportunity of enjoying, ſome time longer, at Mante, the company of madam Châteaupers, with whom chance had brought me acquainted; and the inclination I felt for her was ſtrong enough to make me entertain thoughts of a ſecond marriage.

THE king had expreſly forbidden all commerce, and exportation of merchandizes, and every kind of proviſion into Paris and Rouen, as being cities in open rebellion: but in this, as in every thing elſe, he was very ill obeyed. The governors of paſſes, eſpecially on the ſide of the Seine, gained by the immenſe ſums, which they procured them, almoſt publicly granted the neceſſary paſſports for merchants, and maſters of boats. De Fourges, whom I have formerly mentioned, came one day and informed me, that a large boat, whoſe lading was reputed worth fifty thouſand crowns, had gone up the river to Paris, where, after a few days ſtay, a leſs one would bring back the produce in ſilver to Rouen; which he was well aſſured of, becauſe his father had charge of the boat. I cauſed it to be ſo well watched, that in its return it fell into my hands, and I ſaw with aſtoniſhment the paſſport ſigned by Berengueville, and my brother, the one governor of Meulan, and the other of Mante; but they did not care to mention this to me, nor did I take any notice of it to them, but cauſed the boat and its maſter to be brought to

which happened at Geneva, in the year 1588, ſhe became heireſs of this principality. The duke, in his laſt will, forbad his ſiſter to marry a Roman catholic. This circumſtance, the king's friendſhip for the viſcount Turenne, his deſire of taking the lady from the dukes of Lorrain, Montpenſier, and Nevers, each of whom demanded her for his ſon; policy, which adviſed him to give an ambitious neighbour to the duke of Lorrain; and perhaps the belief that this marriage would induce the viſcount to lay aſide his deſign of making himſelf head of the calviniſts in France: theſe were the motives which determined Henry IV. to marry the heireſs of Sedan to the viſcount Turenne.

Mante.

Mante. I opened two large packets, where I expected to find the fifty thousand crowns in specie. But seeing only some pieces of gold and silver thread, and a piece of Spanish silk, I threatened to put the master of the boat into a dungeon. The elder Fourges, alarmed at this threat, presented me with letters of exchange for six and thirty thousand crowns, which he would have persuaded me was the whole produce of the sale. But as he defended himself with much action, the weight of the gold he had about him broke his pockets, and so great a quantity fell from them, that the floor was in an instant covered with crowns of the sun *. He probably intended to apply this sum to his own use, or thought it could be in no place so secure as about himself. 'Tis impossible to express the confusion he was in at this accident. After diverting myself some time in obliging him to take several turns about the room, I ordered him to strip, and found seven thousand crowns in gold sewed up in his cloaths. I was then in some necessity for money, and waiting for the sale of my corn, wood, and hay at Rosny: the king made me a present of this sum, and was extremely pleased with the recital of poor Fourges's adventure. As for Berengueville, and my brother, they were extremely angry with me. But to return to the siege of Rouen.

THE king had never seen himself at the head of such considerable forces. Four thousand English were sent him under the command of Roger Williams, and he expected soon a second reinforcement from England, which landed during the siege, commanded by the earl of Essex *, the minister and fa-

* A gold coin current in those times. It was first struck in the reign of Lewis XI. and so called, because there was the figure of a sun above the crown. The value of these crowns at this time is sixty-four sols.

* Robert d'Evreux, earl of Essex, favourite to queen Elizabeth. See the letter of thanks which Henry IV. wrote to queen Elizabeth, Villeroy's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 249.

vourite of queen Elizabeth. The United Provinces, besides the two regiments in the service of this prince, sent a fleet of fifty sail well equipped, with two thousand five hundred soldiers, under the command of count Philip of Nassau, on board, to the coast of Normandy. The duke of Bouillon (for the viscount Turenne took this title after his marriage) succeeded so well in his negotiation in Germany, that he brought back five or six thousand horse, and some companies of foot, with the prince of Anhalt at their head. These foreign auxiliaries, joined to six thousand Swiss, which the king had in his pay, to different reinforcements that came from several places, particularly in Normandy; and to those troops, either protestants or catholics, that were at his own disposal, composed in all an army of forty thousand men. Caën, and the other chief towns of the province, engaged to furnish provisions, and every thing necessary for a siege, which could not fail of being long, the goodness of the place, and the strength of the garrison considered. The marquis of Villars †, well known for his courage and capacity, shut himself up there with the son of the duke of Maïenne, resolved to bury themselves under its ruins. In effect, from the day that we sat down before this city, till the prince of Parma's arrival, which obliged us to raise the siege, there passed almost six months; and what is worse, six winter months: for it was invested the first of October, and abandoned the twentieth of March following, after attempts on the part of the besiegers, and a resistance on that of the besieged, some circumstances of which I shall relate.

The troopers of the besiegers were placed in different quarters; the king's were at Darnetal, and that of my company at Fresne l'Esplen, where I seldom went, the king having honoured me with a,

† André de Brancas-Villars, of the ancient family of Brancatio, originally Neapolitan. It is not the same with that of the marquis of Villars, which is descended from Honoré, bastard of Savoy.

lodging

lodging in his. Here I disposed myself for a long stay, and hardly ever quitted him or the marechal de Biron. At first there appeared such an emulation among the officers to be employed, that, to avoid all disputes, the king regulated the time and duration of each of their services; and declared that every fourth day he would himself work at the trench, with the gentlemen that were about his person, who were to the number of two or three hundred.

I HAD solicited beforehand for a post in the artillery, for which my inclination was so strong, that I submitted to serve not only under the marechal de Biron, but messieurs de La-Guiche *, de Borne, and de Fayolles also. But Biron, who hated me, gained over these generals, and prevailed upon them to exclude me, with which I had afterwards reason to be well pleased; for those pieces of ordnance of which I was to have the charge, happened to fall into the enemy's power.

THIS it was that gave rise to the marechal's hatred towards me: It was debated in the council on what side the place should be attacked. Biron was of opinion, that we should begin with the castle; I, on the contrary, did not scruple to maintain, that we ought first to attack the city, which would bring along with it the reduction of Fort St. Catherine. This question was a long time the subject of all conversations, as well at the table, as council; and Biron never forgot the expression I generally used, *The city taken, the castle must surrender.*

I CANNOT comprehend how a man so experienced as the marechal was, could determine for attacking the castle, which, not to mention the uncommon skill of the commander, and the strength of the garrison, nor its excellent fortifications, had this circumstance in particular from the nature of the place, that in attacking it without, not half the number of

* Philibert de La-Guiche, John de Durfort de Borne, Bertrand de Melet de Fayolles.

ſoldiers could be brought againſt it, which the beſieged could bring to defend it; which is quite contrary to all other cities of war.

HOWEVER, the opinion of the marechal de Biron carried it; for his authority, and that dependence to which he had accuſtomed the other general officers, ſecured all the votes. Without doubt, this marechal, flattering himſelf that nothing could be able to reſiſt ſo ſtrong an army, took thoſe meaſures which he thought moſt honourable, and likelieſt to bring the ſiege ſoon to an end; and the king, who was reſolved not to ſpare * himſelf, by following this advice, ſeemed to be of the ſame opinion. For I look upon as a calumny only, raiſed by the marechal's enemies, that report which was whiſpered in the army, that he had aſked the king for the government of Rouen, which this prince had refuſed him, becauſe he had before promiſed it to du Hallot †, upon the recommendation of monſieur de Montpenſier; and that he endeavoured ſecretly to thwart this enterprize, and, through envy, gave ſuch advice as he knew would render all our efforts upon this place ineffectual. 'Tis certain, theſe continual conteſts with the duke of Bouillon had more than once like to have ruined all; for this nobleman, to be revenged on the king, raiſed a mutiny amongſt the horſe and other German forces which he had brought with him.

* Perhaps alſo they depended upon blowing up the fort of St. Catherine with the mine; but the deſign was diſcovered by the beſieged. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Thoſe writers that have defended the marechal Biron's advice againſt that given by the duke of Sully, with regard to the place at which they ſhould begin the attack, ſay, that it was very difficult, and, at the ſame time, very dangerous, for the army of Henry IV. to leave behind them the fort of St. Catherine, the hill eſpecially being ſo near the city. See, upon the operations of this ſiege, F. Matthieu, vol. II. p. 96. and following. Cayet, Chron. Novenn. vol. II. book iv. (who is for the duke of Sully's opinion againſt the marechal Biron) and other hiſtorians.

† Francis de Montmorency du Hallot, lieutenant-general for the king in Normandy. He was wounded at the ſiege of Rouen, and afterwards ſlain by the marquis d'Alegre.

THE

THE batteries were accordingly raised opposite to the fort, and we contented ourselves with guarding the lower part of the river, and placed there some companies of German foot, which having been worsted in several sallies that were made on that side, yielded the post to the Dutch, who understood sieges better than they. In effect, these last maintained themselves there, and prevented any more sallies from that place. It was not long before the king perceived that he had engaged in a very difficult attempt; but nothing, he imagined, was impossible to continued labour. Villars was not contented with defending himself within; he sallied out of the castle, and caused a deep trench to be cut upon the declivity of the hill, over-against the fort, with which the end of it communicated, and placed there in the night a guard of six or seven hundred men.

As this new work was extended far into the country, and as it not only disordered the besiegers in their attacks upon the castle, but also exposed them to be fallen upon in the rear, while at the same time they had the garrison from within in front, the king resolved to seize it, and render it useless to the enemy. For this purpose he made choice of the same night when it was his turn to watch at the trench with his three hundred gentlemen, whom he commanded to be completely armed, and to have, besides their usual arms, halberts in their hands, and pistols at their girdles, and to this troop added four hundred musketeers. It was at midnight, and amidst the extreme cold of December, that we attacked this trench at different places. The action, which was very obstinate, continued half an hour with equal animosity on both sides. We used our utmost endeavours to gain the brink, and the besieged repulsed us several times. I was twice thrown to the ground, my halbert broke, and my arms loosened or broke in pieces. Maignan, whom I had obtained permission to keep near me, raised me, and put my

arms

arms again in order, and gave me his halbert. The trench was at last carried by main force, and we cleared it of more than fifty dead or dying enemies, whom we threw from the top of the hill. This trench was open to the cannon of the fort, but the king had the precaution to order some gabions, hogsheads, and pieces of wood to be brought there, which covered the English, to whom he committed the guard of it.

VILLARS did not expect to have seen his outworks carried in so short a time. When he was told it, and that it was the king himself who had conducted the enterprize, "By heavens," said he, "this prince "deserves a thousand crowns for his valour. I am "sorry that, by a better religion, he does not inspire "us with as strong an inclination to gain him new "ones, as to detain from him his own; but it shall "never be said, that I have failed to attempt in my "own person, what a great king has performed in "his." In effect, he put himself at the head of four hundred men, armed as he had been told the king's were; and taking also eight hundred musketeers selected out of his whole number, he attacked the English, and dislodged them from the trench. The king, piqued with the vanity of Villars, and resolving not to let go his hold, prepared for a second attempt. The English, apprehending reproaches, which they certainly had not deserved, intreated the king to put a hundred English gentlemen in his troop, and to suffer all the foot, who were to attend him on this occasion, to be English likewise. They also demanded leave to sustain the first effort of the enemy, and behaved so bravely, that the trench was a second time regained: they afterwards maintained themselves in it, and took away from the besieged all inclination to approach it for the future. By this obstinate struggle for a trench only, it is easy to judge of the event of a siege, of which this attack was but the beginning. The king was sensible, that notwithstanding

withstanding all his care, and the infinite labour he underwent, he would find great difficulty in succeeding. It was the good destiny of France that preserved this prince on occasions, when he hazarded his person in such a manner, as to make us tremble for his life. And it was upon this account, that the next day after the trench was taken, I took an opportunity to express our common fears, when he drew me aside, in the presence of the catholics, and all the courtiers, to converse with me upon the present situation of his affairs. "I cannot do otherwise, "my friend," replied he, as soon as I began to expostulate with him; "and since it is for my glory "and crown that I fight, my life and every thing "else ought to be of no consideration with me."

It is certain, that in the king's situation he could not do less than he did, to persuade the world, that if this siege failed, it would not be through his fault; and all those instances of shining valour were no more than necessary to efface the shame of being foiled in an attempt which one half of his army feared he should succeed in, almost as much as the enemies themselves. These were the very same catholics whom I have formerly mentioned, who not contented with having obliged him to begin the siege at a place which rendered the taking of the city impossible, suffered him to sustain all the danger and fatigue, obeyed him but by halves and with regret, created innumerable difficulties, and publicly declared, that nothing was to be expected from them, while he continued to profess a religion different from their own.

It was to express himself freely upon so many causes of uneasiness, that he was desirous of discoursing with me, and I then said nothing to him, which he did not know as well as myself, at so little trouble were his domestic enemies to conceal their sentiments. He told me, he had perceived for some time the approach of a much greater misfortune, which was the desertion of all the catholics in his army,

"which

"which will bring along with it," added he, "the "ruin of the ſtate, and the houſe of Bourbon; for "if they once break with me, they will never more "chuſe a king out of that family." He added, that this diſobedience was an incurable evil, which he was obliged to diſſemble the knowledge of. He made me obſerve, that at the very time we were ſpeaking, meſſieurs de Nevers, de Longueville, de la Guiche, d'O, and de Châteauvieux, jealous of ſo familiar a converſation with an huguenot, looked at us maliciouſly from a corner of the hall, and whiſpered continually together. For this reaſon, he ſaid, it would be neceſſary to ſeparate, and that he would go and tell them our diſcourſe turned upon a negotiation with the marquis of Villars, which, in reality, the king had hinted to me in this converſation.

NOTHING could have happened more advantageous for the king, than to have put an end to the ſiege of Rouen by a treaty with Villars, which, in reality, would have drawn him from the league into his own party. It was what this prince ardently wiſhed for, but ſtill leſs for the honour of his enterprize, than the advantage that would ariſe from the gaining over ſuch a man as this governor. He imagined it might be brought about by means of la Font, for whom Villars had great conſideration, though he was only his ſteward. The king was not ignorant that Villars had received this domeſtic into his ſervice, after he had left mine; and that la Font owed his favour with his new maſter to thoſe teſtimonies I had given of his integrity. This thought had ſtruck me before it was mentioned by the king, and I had even found means to get la Font ſounded upon the ſubject. His anſwer, which I related to the king, was, that at preſent he ſaw no appearance of what I propoſed to him; and, far from conſenting to ſee me, as I deſired, he ſaid, he thought himſelf obliged, to prevent his maſter's entertaining any ſuſpicion of his fidelity, to have no commerce with me. All

he

he could do, therefore, was to obſerve if monſieur de Villars changed his ſentiments; and in that caſe to confirm him as much as poſſible in them, and to inform me of it.

HENRY thought no more of it; but before we ſeparated, he aſked me what he ought to do with regard to the ſiege, and the prince of Parma, who, he had juſt learned, had paſſed the Somme, to join his troops with thoſe of the duke of Maïenne. The king made no queſtion that his intention was to proceed directly to Rouen, nor that Villars would eaſily hold out till his arrival. I told the king, that in my opinion, there were but two things for him to do, and that it lay in his own breaſt to determine upon which of them he pleaſed: one of which was, to change abſolutely the order, and place of attack, and to carry it to the ſide of the city, and there uſe his utmoſt endeavours to make himſelf maſter of it before the enemy ſhould appear: the other, that without loſs of time he ſhould go and attack the prince of Parma, and oblige him to repaſs the Somme, after which he ſhould continue the ſiege without fear.

THE king reſolved upon the laſt: but, as by following it he had no deſign to raiſe the ſiege, leſt the prince of Parma, who perhaps had that only in view, ſhould afterwards avoid the battle, he told me, that he would go and meet him with ſeven or eight thouſand horſe, who were of no uſe at the ſiege; and that he would attack them with his cavalry, or, if he had not paſſed the Somme, diſpute the paſſage with him. He quitted me, ordering me to prepare myſelf to go along with him with fifteen or twenty troopers, choſen from the reſt of my company.

I RETURNED at the end of two days from Freſne l'Eſplen; and, on my arrival at Darnetal, I learnt that Villars had made a ſally at the head of a hundred horſe, with whom he overthrew the guard; and would have been the cauſe of much greater confuſion,

fusion, if the king, armed only with a cuirass, had not ran thither, followed by the baron de Biron, an English officer (whose name I have forgot), Grillon.*, and some others that were about him: these three gentlemen especially, gained immortal glory there. Grillon's arm was broke by a shot from an arquebuse. As for the king, having precipitated himself into a danger somewhat like that which is related of Alexander the Great in the city of the Oxydracæ, he extricated himself out of it with equal presence of mind, and equal intrepidity. If this, which is only an example, has all the appearance of a fable, Henry's action had two whole armies to be witnesses of it.

THE prince of Parma, with his whole army, possessed the border of the Somme, and, satisfied with recovering this river, made no other motion; for the governor of Rouen had sent to inform him, that, as he intended to strike some important blow, he might let it be a good while before he came to his assistance; and he likewise waited for the arrival of Sfondrate, who was to bring him the troops of his uncle pope Gregory XIV. †, and those of the duke of Maïenne, who however came not immediately. He had been obliged to go with his best troops to Paris, to punish the insolence of the council of Sixteen, who, abusing the power he had trusted them with, had dared to hang the president Brisson ‡, and some other counsellors as venerable for their virtue

* James Berton de Crillon, or Grillon.

† Sixtus V. died in the month of August 1590. Henry IV. when he was informed of his death, said, "Here is a trick of Spanish policy: I have lost a pope who was every thing to me."

‡ Barnaby Brisson, Claude Larcher, and John Tardiff, lord du Ru, counsellors of the parliament. "A catastrophe very unworthy of so "learned and excellent a man," says Mazeray, speaking of the president Brisson, "but usual to those who think to keep well with two "parties." For the parliament being transferred by the king to Tours, Brisson was the only one of the six presidents who remained at Paris. The league obliged him to perform the duties of first president, and it was he that helped to degrade king Henry III. According to the duke of Nevers' observation, his death was looked upon to be a just punishment of his ingratitude. Henry III. had freely bestowed upon

as their age; and who might possibly have carried their outrages farther, if the duke of Maïenne, fearing perhaps some sudden caprice of these rebels * against himself, had not doomed them to the like punishment: but as in executing this act of justice he had certain measures to keep, he did not join the prince of Parma as soon as had been expected.

THE king, when he was informed of this disposition, thought it necessary to hasten his march. He left the marechal Biron the care of carrying on the siege, whose forces he weakened but by seven or eight thousand horse; consisting from three to four thousand French troopers, as many German horse, and a thousand horse-arquebusiers; at the head of which he left Darnetal, and took the road to the Somme. He passed the first day by Boissiere and Neuf-Châtel; the second by Blangy, Londiniere, Longueville, Senerpont, and Gamache; and the third advanced to Folleville, with one detachment only, leaving the body of his cavalry behind him, under the conduct of the duke of Nevers.

WE met a considerable party, led by messieurs de Rosne †, de Balagny, de Vitry, the baron de la Châtre, St. Pol, La-Mothe, and others, who had doubtless advanced with the same design as we, to

upon him the post of president. However, he was one of the greatest men of the robe. The duke of Maïenne revenged his death, by causing Louchard, Ameline, Aimonet, and Anroux, four of the sixteen, to be hanged in a parlour of the Louvre. See the historians.

* One of the sixteen, named Normand, said one day in the duke of Maïenne's chamber, "Those who made him, have a right to "unmake him." Hamilton, the curate of St. Côme, a furious leaguer, came himself, attended by priests, instead of soldiers, to seize the counsellor Tardif in his house.

† Christian or Chrétien de Savigny, baron of Rosne; John de Montluc de Balagny; Lewis de l'Hôpital, lord de Vitry; Claude de La-Châtre; Antony de St. Pol; Valentine de Pardieu, lord de la Mothe, governor of Valenciennes. This last was a Frenchman, of the country of Beaumois; but he had all his life served in the Spanish army, and was slain in the year 1593, at the siege of Dourlans, at the head of the Spanish artillery, very much regretted by the Spaniards. The king of Spain had just created him count of Ekelbeke. See his death, and panegyric in de Thou, book cxii.

discover

discover the situation and forces of the enemy. The king commanded the baron de Biron, messieurs de Lavardin, de Givry *, de St. Geran, de Marivaut, de Chanlivaut, La-Curée, d'Arambure †, and some others, to go and attack them, who were repulsed and handled very roughly; and part fell, among which was Lavardin. Henry ran with three hundred horse to disengage them; and, believing this encounter might be followed by an action more considerable, at least between the cavalry of the two armies, which was what he ardently wished for, sent orders to Nevers to hasten and join him: but the prince of Parma had a contrary design, and restrained his squadrons, who had retreated of themselves when they perceived ours advance; and the king, seeing no appearance of effecting any thing in the midst of so many battalions, contented himself with observing this army closely, and checking its motions, as he went to his quarters at ‡ Breteuil; where his cavalry, for fear of a surprize, were obliged to keep themselves extremely close, and part of them even lay without all night, though the ground was covered with snow.

The ardour with which the king went to meet an enemy so greatly superior to him in numbers, awakened all our fears for the dangers to which he exposed his person, and obliged us to represent the consequences to him in very strong terms. But this prince, who had no conception of that caution we

* Anne d'Anglure, baron of Givry. This officer was equally famous for his abilities in war, and his taste of polite literature. Claude de l'Isle Marivaut; René-Viau, lord of Chanlivaut;----Filhet de La-Curée: he was one of those persons in whom the king confided, and was called by him nothing but Curée. He performed wonders at the battle of Ivry, and on many other occasions. The vol. of manuscripts marked 8929, of the royal library, is filled with relations of his intrepidity: we may have occasion to mention him hereafter. He was killed in an encounter at the siege of Montauban.

† John lord d'Arambure.

‡ This town, and some of those places aboyementioned, are in Picardy: the others are in the country of Caux.

proposed

propoſed to him, when glory was in queſtion, did not alter his conduct; but ſatisfied himſelf with naming thirty of us to continue near his perſon, and not to leave him upon any occaſion whatever. An employment highly honourable indeed; but the danger of which, in ſome degree, made it leſs deſireble. With this precaution, which was no more than neceſſary, he only reſigned himſelf ſtill more to his eager thirſt of glory.

Being informed that the duke of Guiſe, who commanded the prince of Parma's van-guard, had put himſelf at the head of his troops to facilitate the lodgment of his infantry in a large town called Bures *, he reſolved to cut off this troop; which he executed with the utmoſt bravery, at the head of twelve hundred horſe and a thouſand horſe-arquebuſiers. A great number of the enemies were left dead upon the place, and the reſt betook themſelves to flight. The duke of Guiſe's green ſtandard was taken, and all the baggage plundered. Henry, who was not willing that any of theſe troopers ſhould eſcape, eſpecially their colonel, ſent immediate orders to the duke of Nevers † to advance to Bully, that he might poſſeſs himſelf of the road through which he ſuppoſed the duke of Guiſe and the fugitives would retreat to the reſt of the army, and to take them priſoners. I was ordered to ſuſtain the duke of Nevers with ſixty horſe, which I obeyed with reluctance, not doubting but in ſuch hands the affair would have an end very unworthy of the beginning.

The duke of Nevers, who was the ſloweſt of all men, began by ſending to make choice of the moſt favourable roads, and marched with a ſlow pace to

* In Beauvoiſis.

† Lewis de Gonzague de Mantua, duke of Nevers, by his marriage with Henrietta of Cleves, ducheſs of Nevers. Although the author always ſpeaks diſadvantageouſly of him here, the actions he performed were conſiderable enough to rank him with the braveſt ſoldiers of thoſe times. See his life and panegyric in Brantome's Lives of illuſtrious men, vol. III. p. 259, and following.

Bully,

Bully, with his hands and nose in his muff, and his whole person well wrapt up in his coach. This once he had no occasion to boast of his extreme caution. It was so long before he arrived, that he gave time to the prince of Parma, who was more diligent than he, to throw a regiment of five or six hundred men into Bully, who made such haste, that they reached the town in the beginning of the night. As for the duke of Nevers, the sun was risen the next day when he had just ascended the mountain, at the bottom of which Bully is situated, preceded by his couriers, whom he had that day doubled, through an excess of caution against a flying enemy: the first, to the number of fifty, marched two or three miles before him; and the second, which amounted to an hundred, went some few paces before his coach. But unfortunately, with all his foresight, he forgot to make sure of this passage, and had not sent a single soldier to keep guard there. He began to descend the mountain with great tranquility, and the more so, as he was ignorant of the troops that were in Bully. His first couriers, entering the city, were sufficiently surprized at the sight of so much good company; but the cold having obliged the soldiers to unarm themselves, and to lay down their pikes, to range themselves round a large fire that they had kindled, these fifty couriers had time to save themselves by flight. They did not direct their course to that side where their master was, but passed quite through the city, and went out at the opposite end, without being in the least troubled about what might happen to the duke of Nevers; whose coach at that time was sunk into the deepest part of a declivity, equally steep, rugged, and winding. It was in this place that the duke of Nevers, hearing the noise of some fusileers that were firing after his first couriers, and the second coming to make their report, full of consternation, he was frozen with terror; and resolving now to lose no time, threw away his muff and his furs, not without several

ral times exclaiming, "The devil," and quarrelling with his servants for not coming soon enough to help him out. All their endeavours could not disengage the coach, which was forced to be dragged back to the top of the mountain; where the duke again made use of it, to return with more speed to the place where he had lain the whole night. It was thus that we seconded the king upon this occasion: a truly ridiculous exploit, where the danger was far less than the fear, since not a single man was lost.

The prince of Parma, by this important blow, knowing what sort of an enemy he had to deal with, durst not, for the future, suffer his van-guard to be separated from the army; and perceiving that the king almost never lost sight of him, redoubled his vigilance and caution, which was, without doubt, the cause that he did not take all the advantage he might have done of the encounter at Aumale: an action uncommonly bold on the king's side, and well deserving of a particular relation here.

Some days after that I have just mentioned, the king, following the prince of Parma at a great distance, had advanced with six thousand horse as far as Aumale. Givry, whom he had sent at the head of some troopers to get intelligence, returned and informed him, that the enemy's army was advancing directly towards him in the plain, in good order, apparently with a design to force him back, and to cut him off in his retreat. The king called a council; and finding, as he said, that he had too many, and too few soldiers, he resolved to send all his cavalry back to Ophy, Blangy, and Neuf-Châtel, and to keep with him only four hundred troopers, and five hundred horse-arquebusiers, and with this troop to advance into the plain, to discover exactly the condition and number of the enemy; and, hovering about them, to take or cut off some squadrons.

He ascended the hill of * Aumale with his nine

* In Normandy, upon the borders of Picardy.

hundred horſe, and marched two leagues without perceiving any thing, 'till the ſky, which had been extremely cloudy and dark, becoming very clear, he a ſecond time ſaw Givry return, who came to ſatisfy him in every particular relating to this army, which was ſo near that they heard diſtinctly the ſound of the trumpets and drums. The king, however, willing to obſerve it himſelf, made an exact review of it, and found that it conſiſted of ſixteen or ſeventeen thouſand infantry, with ſeven or eight thouſand cavalry, who marched very cloſe; the cavalry in the midſt of the battalions, and the whole flanked with chariots and baggage, that rendered all approach impoſſible. From this ſituation of the enemy, he found he had ſtill too many men; and retaining only an hundred troopers, ordered the eight hundred others to repaſs the dyke and town of Aumale, and three hundred horſe of his ſquadron to ſtop upon the declivity of the hill, to be ready to aſſiſt him, if there ſhould be occaſion. Five hundred arquebuſiers he gave to the conduct of Lavardin, with orders to poſt them in the ditches and hedges that were at the entrance of the town, from whence they might harraſs the enemy, if they approached too near. As for him, he not only waited for the enemy with his hundred horſe, but even marched to meet them.

We now gazed upon each other with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at the raſhneſs of a deſign, which ſeemed to expoſe the king to inevitable death. No one durſt venture to expoſtulate with him, yet knew not how to be ſilent. At length I was choſen, and deputed by the reſt to repreſent to the king, in the name of us all, the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, and to intreat him to alter his reſolution. This commiſſion I performed with all imaginable caution. "'Tis "fear," replied the king, "that occaſions this re-"queſt: from you, of all others, I never expected "to hear ſuch a propoſition." I conjured him not to think ſo unjuſtly of any of us; and told him, that all

all we required was, that he would give us what orders he pleased, provided he would himself retire. Henry confessed to me afterwards, that he was sensibly affected with these words; and repenting of what he had said to me, replied, that no expressions of our fidelity could reach the idea he conceived of it. "But," added he, coldly, and with an air that convinced me how much in vain it would be to speak to him any more upon this subject, "be you "also assured that I am not so rash as you imagine; "that I am as careful of myself as any other, and "that I will retreat so seasonably that no misfor-"tune shall happen."

The prince of Parma looked upon this bold attempt as a snare that was laid for him, to draw his cavalry into an open field where he should meet with the king's, which he supposed to be concealed, and much superior to his. He even suspected a long time, that the king's whole army was not far off; and, having no design to engage him, he did not quit his post, which was in the center of the army, where he was seated in an uncovered chariot, without arms or boots, and employed in giving orders to restrain the ardour of the soldiers, who suffered with impatience a hundred men to insult thirty thousand. However, when he was assured, by the report of his light horse and his carabineers, that at present he had but a hundred horse in front, and that if there was any cavalry it must be on the other side of the valley, he thought he should risque nothing by attacking us; which he did with such fury, and at so many places, that we were broke through, and driven back as far as the valley. Here it was that our arquebusiers had posted themselves; and on our arrival the king cried to them to charge, after having first warned us not to charge, in order that the enemy might suspect an ambuscade in this place, and stop. In effect, they did stop short; but finding that this cry was follow-

ed only with fifty or sixty shots that we fired upon them, they came on again more furiously.

Our arquebusiers, seized with fear, or perhaps willing to chuse a more advantageous ground, had retired much lower than the place that had been prescribed for them, and they were the principal cause of the misfortune that happened. The enemy's squadrons, encouraged by the little resistance they found, forced our ranks, and we could not hinder them from mixing amongst us. We saw ourselves reduced to the necessity of fighting with this vast multitude with our pistols and swords, in a danger that may be easily imagined: and, indeed, in my opinion, there could not be a greater; for the hundred troopers were already reduced to forty. Henry, seeing that none came to his assistance in this extremity, resolved to make his retreat; which, on this occasion, was almost as dangerous as a defence, because we had a bridge to pass, and that bridge at a great distance. This prince, with a composure truly admirable, placed himself in the rear of his troop, and made it file off towards the bridge of Aumale, which, by the order he caused to be observed, it passed over without confusion. He was the last that passed, and held firm against the enemy till every one of us was on the other side. That moment he was shot in the reins, which fortunately was the only wound he received, and which did not hinder him from continuing to fight on the other side of the bridge, while he was endeavouring to gain the hill; where the four hundred horse he had sent thither, made so good an appearance, that the prince of Parma, being more than ever persuaded, that he only sought to draw him to a battle, forbid his troops to advance, and made them all return to Aumale.

The king, on his side, reached Neuf-Châtel, where his wound obliged him to go to bed. The surgeons removed our fears and consternation by assuring us, that it was a very inconsiderable one.

He

He obliged us to come near his bed, and conversed with us familiarly upon the dangers of that day: upon which I observed, as something very extraordinary, that amongst us all, who were in the chamber, there were not two who agreed * in the recital of the most particular circumstances of the action. In general, it passed as I have related: what appeared doubtful to me, I have suppressed; but as it is here, there are perhaps few kings whose lives † will afford so shining an instance of valour and good conduct.

THE prince of Parma's extreme prudence failed him upon this occasion: it hindered him from cutting off our whole squadron, and finishing the war that day by the death or taking of the king: for the one or other was inevitable. But he was determined to undertake nothing till he was joined by the duke of Maïenne, not being willing to bear alone all the inconveniences of a war, of which he was not to have the sole advantage.

HE was not able to comprehend the cause of this delay in the chief of the league: the suspicions he entertained of it made him suddenly change the march of his army, and take the road back again to the Somme. An action very pardonable in a

* There is scarce any skirmish or battle of which as much may not be said. Although there are a great number of writers, and even contemporaries, who have treated of the military exploits contained in these Memoirs, I cannot meet with two who agree exactly in these descriptions. D'Aubigné, in that of the encounter at Aumale, does not even mention the king's wound, which was the only one he ever received in his life. Matthieu, ibid. p. 100, and our best historians differ but little from our Memoirs.

† Henry having sent to the prince of Parma to ask his opinion of this retreat, he replied, that "indeed it was a very fine one; but that, "for his part, he never engaged in any place from whence he was "obliged to retire." Peref. ibid. part. ii. It was on this occasion that Du-Plessis-Mornay wrote this excellent letter to the king: "Sire, in war you have been an Alexander: it is time you should now "be Augustus: it is our glory and duty to die for you; and yours I "dare tell you, sire, to live for France," &c. Notes upon the Henriade.

foreigner, who saw himself in the midst of a strange country, where he alone was to sustain the war. Henry, who, without considering what was glorious for himself in this last battle, called it only the error of Aumale, and being solicitous to repair this heroic error, could not resolve to suffer the Spanish general quietly to retreat; putting off therefore the cure of his wound to another time, he again mounted his horse, and harrassed the prince continually, only regretting that he could not do more. But he had a politic general to deal with, who, notwithstanding all his endeavours, presented him always with an infantry in front, which he could not break through; and observed so prudent a conduct, that it was not possible, even at the passage of the river, to have an encounter with him. The king at length, quitting him at Pontdormy, returned to Neuf-Châtel, to have his wound cured, at the house of monsieur de Claire; where I was received as a friend and relation. I kept only a valet de chambre, a page, and a footman with me, and sent all the rest of my equipage to my quarters before Rouen.

The success of the siege became more uncertain every day: at last the king was informed, by a courier, that Villars, at the head of two hundred musqueteers, and three or four hundred soldiers, had in the night made a furious sally on the side of Darnetal; that he had penetrated even into the king's quarters, where he had cut all the German foot to pieces, and carried off six pieces of cannon, and all the powder; that afterwards, pursuing his advantage, he had fallen upon the trench, which he attacked behind; had killed there three or four hundred men, and put the rest to flight: in a word, that he did not retire till he had destroyed almost all the works of the besiegers.

This melancholy news recalled the king immediately to Rouen: he was there convinced, that this misfortune was wholly occasioned by the marechal de

de Biron's fault; but although he looked upon it as irreparable, and hated this commander *, yet he took care to conceal his sentiments. That irreconcileable aversion which the catholics of his party bore to the protestants, made them seize this opportunity to insult the marechal de Biron, who, next to the king, was looked upon as the chief support of the protestants. The catholics said openly, that heaven would never favour Henry's party, while he continued a heretic (a reflection very unreasonable and unjust, the success he had hitherto met with considered;) that they exposed themselves to the divine vengeance by associating with that reprobate body. From thence, animated by their zeal, they formed a design of taking up the huguenots, who had been interred indiscriminately with the catholics, and leaving their carcasses a prey to the crows. Two things hindered the execution of a design as contrary to religion as to nature itself: the difficulty of distinguishing the bodies, and fear lest the protestants, who composed two thirds of the army, should think their honour engaged to revenge upon the living catholics an outrage, which, through a zeal for religion, exceeded all others.

The king, who perceived these dispositions on both sides, instead of blaming any particular person, or suffering a discontent to appear, which might increase the public broils, affected to say openly, that the misfortune was not so great as had been represented. In reality, it did not appear of such conse-

* There cannot be a stronger proof of the respect and deference which Henry IV. thought himself obliged to shew the marechal de Biron, than what this prince said one day to Châtillon, on a certain occasion, when this young man offered some very reasonable advice, but contrary to that given by the marechal: "The goslings," said he, "would lead the geese to the pasture. When your beard is white, "perhaps you may have acquired some knowledge. I do not approve of your speaking so freely; that belongs only to my father "here," pointing to Biron, who had threatened to retire. "We "must," pursued he, embracing him, "go all to his school." Matthieu, vol. II. p. 16.

quence to the king as a discord in his army, which would either deprive him of all the catholics in his party, or, on the first opportunity, set one half against the other. It was a mortifying circumstance for this prince, in the midst of so many causes of disquiet, to be obliged to keep all within his own breast, and substitute unworthy compliances in the place of absolute commands: but he was not ignorant that the voice of authority, which has the power of subjecting all men, when it proceeds from a person distinguished for his superior abilities, has no effect upon minds by religion inflamed and disunited.

He was persuaded also, that after the misfortune occasioned by such bad conduct, nothing now remained to be done but to raise the siege of Rouen; and he sought for a plausible pretence for doing so, without awakening at the same time the public dissensions. He learnt therefore, with great joy, that the prince of Parma, reinforced by the troops of the duke of Maïenne and Sfondrate, was returning hastily to give him battle. He thought this a favourable opportunity to lessen the shame of raising the siege, and to turn against the common enemy the fury of two parties which were rending his army in pieces.

That he might gain time to abandon his lines without confusion, and regulate the order of his march, he sent Givry to throw himself into * Neuf-Châtel, which the enemy would be obliged to take before they could come to Rouen. This, although a very strong place, did not hold out near so long as was expected: the cause of which is difficult to be assigned; but the whole blame was cast upon Palcheux, who was much weaker, and worse sustained, than Givry †. Although an old officer, and distinguished by his actions and his wounds, he sustained all the

* A city in the country of Caux.

† "Neuf-Châtel might have been taken in an hour's time," says F. Matthieu; who nevertheless, as well as the duke of Sully, blamed Givry for surrendering without making greater resistance. Vol. II. p. 102.

violence

violence of the ſtorm; and was put under arreſt at Dieppe, in my opinion very unjuſtly. The relations and friends whom the garriſon of Neuf-Châtel had in the party of the league, ſeemed to me to be the true cauſe that the place made ſo ſlight a reſiſtance. It ſurrendered in the middle of March. The king, by his care and diligence, repaired this misfortune, and brought off his troops from Rouen, without receiving the leaſt check †; and putting himſelf at their head, advanced without loſs of time to that ſide on which the prince of Parma was approaching the city.

On his arrival at a plain, where the enemy's army muſt paſs, he waited for it; and, as ſoon as it appeared, ſent and offered the prince of Parma battle. The prince accepted it with a joy that was far from being ſincere: he was afraid of engaging with a general ſuch as he knew Henry to be, and of expoſing to the event of a battle the reputation of the greateſt warrior in Europe, which a long ſeries of great actions had acquired him amongſt his partiſans. Finding himſelf now in ſuch a ſituation as that he might be forced to fight, he had recourſe to one of the moſt artful ſtratagems imaginable to avoid it: he cauſed the beſt troops amongſt all his battalions to advance, and compoſed of them a front of battle; behind which he drew up, as without deſign, all his cavalry. Under favour of this front of infantry, in ſuch order as was uſual for an action, and ſeeming to wait only for the ſignal, all his cavalry, the remainder of his foot, and the whole baggage, entered into the defiles which ſerved for an outlet to the enemy's camp; and, covered by hills and buſhes, which the prince of Parma knew well how to take advantage

† This ſiege coſt the king a great many ſoldiers: in thoſe times it was reported, that he loſt three thouſand men, and the beſieged only five hundred. The earl of Eſſex challenged admiral de Villars to ſingle combat, who replied, that his quality of governor would not allow him to accept his challenge. See the Chron. Novenn. and Mezerai.

of, they saw themselves immediately out of reach of the king's army; who were ignorant of all that passed behind the camp. This front of infantry, which had no depth, taking the same rout after the others, in four and twenty hours all disappeared; nor was it possible, on account of the ground being full of narrow streights and necks of mountains, to disorder the enemy's retreat, nor to engage with his rear-guard.

The prince of Parma was extremely rejoiced, that, without the least loss, he had reached almost the gates of Rouen. He knew no person would be rash enough to attempt to storm him under the walls of this city: his design, therefore, was to stay there six weeks, which was a sufficient time to refresh his army in, and afterwards to march back to the Somme by Neuf-Châtel, Aumale, St. Valery *, and Pontdormy; confining all the expeditions of this campaign to the advantage of putting this capital, and the rest of the cities that kept firm to the league, out of a condition to apprehend any thing from the king's army. Henry penetrated into this general's views; and laying aside his design of making head against an army so advantageously posted, suffered the prince of Parma to enjoy his triumph, and laid another snare for him. He disbanded his whole army, as if it was now become useless to him, or that he was constrained to it by necessity. Part was dispersed in Arques, Dieppe, Gournai, Andely, Gisors, Magny, and other distant places; and part had Mante, Meulan, and the adjoining places for its quarters: the rest he spread about Pont de l'Arche †, Evreux, Passy, Vernon, Conches, and Breteuil, and fixed himself at Louviers. This conduct was sufficiently justified by appearances: it would not have been long possible to have subsisted a

* St. Valery in Picardy.

† All these cities, as likewise the places above named, are in Upper Normandy.

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numerous army, had he kept them together; but by the disposition of his quarters, particularly the last, where he had distributed all his best troops, and the promise he had exacted from his officers to repair to Pont de l'Arche at the first order, it was easy for him to reunite his army in a short time. This separation, he did not doubt, would make the Spanish general perfectly secure, and furnish him with some means of surprizing him, at least in his retreat.

In effect the prince of Parma, fearing that Rouen, surrounded by so large an army, would be in want of provisions, represented to them that there would be no danger in spreading himself over the country, and made part of his troops advance to Ponteaudemer: d'Hacqueville ‖ delivered up this city to him cowardly enough; and the king not only seemed to be indifferent about it, but also feigned ignorance of the enemy's design upon Caudebec, which greatly annoyed the city of Rouen; and neglecting to send supplies to la Garde, who was governor of it, suffered this place to be taken likewise. He observed, with extreme satisfaction, that the enemy, after these two conquests, drawn by the conveniency of lodgings and provisions, extended themselves along the Seine, below Rouen, as far as they could. The Spanish general, however, was not without suspicion of some design in this inactivity, so unusual with Henry; and probably, had he been the sole commander of this army, he would not have hazanded so much. But his collegue, the duke of Maïenne, who was detained in Rouen by an indisposition, assured him there was no danger; and he believed it, upon a supposition that he was better acquainted with the state of the country.

The king, finding the enemy contributed of themselves to serve his designs, resolved to hasten

‖ - - de Vieuxpont, lord d'Hacqueville. He was gained, 'tis said, by a sum of money.

the execution of them. In less than eight days he assembled twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with whom he speedily advanced to Varicarville and Fountaine-lebourg. All the passages between Rouen and Caudebec he shut up, and began with revenging himself completely for the taking this place and Ponteaudemer, by cutting off from the troops, which were there, all communication with the body of the army, which put them wholly into his power. He afterwards went in person with ten thousand foot, and three thousand troopers, to attack the enemy's van-guard, commanded by the duke of Guise. The surprize into which his sudden arrival threw this troop, gave him an easy conquest of them. The duke's squadrons were broke through at the first onset, and he was obliged to fly with precipitation towards the body of the battalions, leaving, with a great number of the slain, all the baggage, which was very considerable, in the power of the victor.

THE prince of Parma, struck as with a thunderbolt at this news, applied himself wholly to securing his other quarters, by placing the duke of Guise at Yvetot, and in fortifying the camp, in which he lodged his dispersed troops, on all sides. He was desirous of quartering all the army there; but as this camp was too small to contain it, he commanded the rest not to remove far from it, to guard their post with great care, and to keep themselves very close. After this precaution, which he did not think sufficient, to support all the lodgments spread around his camp, he posted three thousand men in a wood which bounded them, fortified this wood all round with intrenchments, and joined it by a line of communication with the camp. The last step the king had taken made him extremely formidable to the prince of Parma; but this prince thought to escape him by his great foresight, and diligence in going wherever his presence was necessary: he was again

again mistaken. The next day the king ordered the baron of Biron to attack the wood with a body of eight thousand infantry, composed of an equal number of English, Dutch, and Germans, in order that they might be animated by emulation to excel each other, and caused them to be supported by six hundred troopers, completely armed. The attack lasted three hours; at the end of which the wood was carried. Those who defended it, seeing themselves broke through, fled in disorder to the fortified camp, after having lost eight hundred of their men. Their flight exposed the greatest part of the lodgments, particularly that of Yvetot, where the prince of Parma thought he had inclosed, as in a safe asylum, the duke of Guise, with the same vanguard that had been so badly handled before. Henry, as if he had a personal hatred to the duke of Guise, hastened to reconnoitre the quarter of Yvetot; and judging by the alarm, and the confused cries he heard there, that their consternation was not yet over, he fell upon this quarter with four hundred musqueteers and a thousand foot, armed with pistols and halberts, and attacked it in several places at the same time. The prince of Parma, who had not expected such rapid exploits, saw his whole van-guard upon the point of being put to the sword; and taking counsel only of necessity, ran thither himself, and vigorously sustained our efforts, till the troops of this whole quarter had gained the fortified camp. He lost there seven or eight hundred men, almost all private soldiers. The greatest misfortune was, that in this action, wherein he behaved like a man who knew as well how to fight as to command, he received a very dangerous wound in the arm *.

|| The little reliance one can have on the exactness of those military details which the historians give us, is shewn particularly in this, in which I have observed a great many contradictions amongst them, with regard to the encampments, and the number and date of the encounters. The author of these Memoirs relates all these expedition in such a manner, that he seems to allow but three or four days fo-

NIGHT approached before this battle was ended. The king, instead of taking any rest after a day of such extraordinary fatigue, employed the night wholly in preparing himself for greater advantages. Judging, therefore, that the enemy's army, numerous indeed, and covered with intrenchments, yet dismayed, and half vanquished, would keep close within the camp, where their numbers would do them more harm than good, he hesitated not a moment in resolving to storm it. The readiness and dispatch, which governed all the actions of this prince, was in him not only the effect of nature, but the fruit of reading, in particular the lives of Cæsar and Scipio, whom he studied preferably to all the conquerors of antiquity. He drew out in the night six pieces of cannon, which he directed against the fortification of the camp, that he might make use of them at the dawn of day. He visited his whole army; and kept it in such a disposition, that it might at the same time and place be drawn out in order of battle. His commands were ex-

actions which could not, and were not, performed in less than three weeks. He can no otherwise be justified, than by supposing that he intended to give a slight notion only of this campaign. D'Aubigné, either because he was ignorant of the facts, or had no design to relate them minutely, gives room for the same mistake, as our Memoirs, vol. III. b. iii. c. 15. It is in de Thou, Davila, Matthieu, Cayet, and the Memoirs of the league for the year 1592, that we must look for them; although, as I have just said, their relations differ in many circumstances. According to the Memoirs of the league, which, in my opinion, merit most to be credited, the king defeated the duke of Guise on the 28th of April, and another body of troops on the first of May: on the 5th attacked the fortifications before the camp; and on the 10th, at five o'clock in the morning, began the great attack, in which the prince of Parma received this dangerous wound, vol. V. De Thou will have it, that it was at the taking of Caudebec that the prince of Parma was wounded, and that he did not pass the Seine till the 22d of May, b. ciii. Cayet is of the same opinion, vol. II. b. iv. p. 82, and following. Matthieu blames Henry IV. for not taking the duke of Mayenne prisoner at the skirmish of Yvetot, and, with as little reason, for avoiding a decisive battle, p. 109. The king is by some others accused of still greater faults, in being ignorant of the prince of Parma's preparations to pass the river, and with not knowing how to prevent him.

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ecuted with the greatest exactness: his former successes gave an authority to all his words, that made the most mutinous obedient.

Here it is impossible to forbear praising the prince of Parma for a conduct, which, in my opinion, can never be sufficiently admired. His camp lay between Rouen and Caudebec, at some distance from the Seine, over which, in all that space, there was not any bridge; yet the next morning the whole camp was deserted. All the troops, who indeed lay there in heaps one upon another, those that were in Caudebec, and, in general, all that were spread about the neighbourhood of it, had transported themselves to the other side of the river. Can it appear otherwise than a fable or an illusion? Scarce could the king and his army trust the evidence of their own eyes.

The prince of Parma had foreseen the king's resolution to attack him in his camp the next day; and he did not doubt, after what had passed, but it would be stormed, and his whole army delivered up to the mercy of the victors. A foresight useless, and only productive of despair, to any other, whose prudence had not beforehand provided a resource: for notwithstanding all the duke of Maïenne's representations, he had not delivered himself up so entirely to that security he would have inspired him with, as to neglect any means that might extricate him from danger, if it should happen that he should be one day obliged to engage with the enemy in a country where there were so few resources, as on the borders of the Seine below Rouen.

These measures had been to provide himself secretly with all the boats he could find, which he caused to be brought near Caudebec. It was to this precaution, which few generals would have been capable of, that the prince of Parma owed the safety of his troops, and the preservation of his glory, reputation, and perhaps his life. He caused these boats

to be laid over the river in the night; and notwithstanding the disorder of his camp, and the inconvenience arising from his wound, he gave such good orders, that a bridge was built that very night, over which his whole army and baggage passed securely. This we received particular information of the next day at Caudebec, which surrendered as soon as we approached. He only deserves the reputation of a consummate warrior, who, before a battle, is as cautious as if he was persuaded he should be conquered, and in it behaves as if he was sure of conquering.

On the king's side, but one moment was lost in astonishment: all the others were employed in taking speedy measures to deprive the Spanish general of part of the fruits of his dexterity. Henry, after having well considered his attempt, and removed all doubts of success from his own mind, held a council of war, and there proposed to pass his army over Pont de l'Arche, or at Vernon, and pursue the enemy immediately. Some of us, though indeed a very small number, supported this proposition as it deserved. If it had been followed, this campaign had perhaps put an end to the war: but, as it should seem, the prince of Parma, having performed actions that lifted him above humanity, obliged fortune now to come over to his side; for, upon the proposal of marching the army to Pont de l'Arche, a cry was raised in the council, and a kind of general mutiny, as if the king had made the most unreasonable proposition imaginable. The catholics, the protestants, and foreigners, seemed to outvie one another in searching for difficulties to oppose it: they cried that the prince of Parma's army, being in a level country, might get to the gates of Paris * in four or five days;

* It is acknowledged by de Thou, that the king might have stopt this army, by sending his cavalry to shut up the passage to Pont de l'Arche. It is with great injustice, as we find here, that he charges Henry IV. with this error.

whereas it would be as long before we could gain Pont de l'Arche. They represented to the king, that the way through which they must pass being full of forests, mountains, and defiles, the army could reach the rendezvous but in small divisions; and that, although it should have time to come up with that of the league, the fatigue of so troublesome a march would make it impossible for them to attack it. In a word, they all treated this proposal as a design equally ridiculous and chimerical.

THE king, more enraged at the secret intentions of those who talked to him in this manner, than the purport of their discourse, could not hinder himself from replying with some bitterness, That all these difficulties were only unsurmountable to those, to whom fear and a dislike of fatigue made them appear so. He convinced them they might reach Pont de l'Arche in two days, and Vernon in four, from whence they might continually send detachments of four or five hundred horse to retard the prince of Parma's march; to which also the many obstacles he would meet with would contribute, such as the passage over the river of Eure; Louviers, Passy, Maintenon, Nogent-le-Roi, and Chartres, all being sufficient to oblige him to go greatly out of his way: that the enemy had no bridge open to them but those of Aquigny, Cocherel, Serisy, and two or three others which lay out of their road; and that it would not be impossible to break or burn part of these bridges before the enemy arrived.

THESE arguments sufficiently proved the king's proposal to be practicable; and it may be said, that the general officers, by refusing to yield to them, resisted the strongest conviction. And this naturally occasions two reflections: first, how it happened that a prince, who in all his expeditions made use of mercenaries, picked up wherever he could find them, of different countries, manners, religions, and interests, often a very small number, and always ready

dy to mutiny, should be able to perform what is related of him in this history. The second is, what this prince would have done, if, instead of such troops, he had had a considerable number of well-disciplined soldiers under his command, all united, obedient to his will, constantly attached to his person, and willing to sacrifice their lives for him; in a word, such troops as those conquerors had, whose actions have been so highly extolled by posterity? If these reflections are not made every time they offer, it is because that is in every page: and, besides, no one can be ignorant, that we should judge very ill of merit and abilities by success, if we did not at the same time judge of the success by the obstacles.

It is scarce possible to assign a reason for that invincible obstinacy which the general officers in the king's army discovered upon this occasion, in opposing so prudent a proposal, unless it was owing to that disposition of mind which I have just now mentioned. If a small number of French protestants be excepted, whose fidelity was unquestionable, and most of the English troops, who seemed to act sincerely with us, all the rest of the king's army, protestants, catholics, and foreigners, served him without affection, often unwillingly, and perhaps wished more than they feared that he might suffer some considerable loss. However, notwithstanding this disgust to their leader, on some occasions they all performed their duty, and seconded him bravely; such had been the attack of the duke of Guise, the encounter at the wood, and the battle that followed it. Such would have been the attack of the prince of Parma's camp, if he had waited for us; for at that time all the king's operations, which he knew well how to give a dependence upon each other, were executed with such rapidity, that he did not suffer their courage, when once heated, to have time to cool, nor their minds to return to their usual habit of thinking. The behaviour likewise of a small

small number of brave men is alone sufficient to raise emulation in a whole army, and force it to follow their example, when they are once engaged: but this fierceness, and this ardour, abated, their former ideas return with greater violence, and are so much the more capable of embittering their minds, as they then become sensible that they have done the very contrary of what they intended. Unhappily the leaders of the royal army were in this unfavourable disposition, when the king made a motion to pursue the prince of Parma. The catholics, who had a little time before publicly declared that they were resolved to withdraw their assistance, if the king did not abjure calvinism, within a certain time which they prescribed to him, and reunite themselves with the rest of France, there to appoint a king of their own religion: these catholics could not relish a project, which, by making the king master of his enemies, would put him in a condition of giving them the law, instead of receiving it from them.

The huguenots, who feared this change of religion as much as the catholics endeavoured to enhance the necessity of it, took umbrage at every thing, and always thought they were upon the point of being sacrificed, while the king only sacrificed himself to that necessity which obliged him to endeavour to gain the catholics. Through an apprehension that, by extirpating the league, they should only labour for the catholics against their own interest, they the easier reconciled themselves to circumstances which would at least make the balance even, and render them necessary: and, in case the king should one day forsake their religion, they were resolved to take such measures before-hand, as might make them be feared both by the catholics, and him whom they gave them for a master.

These precautions were, to procure a great number of towns to be yielded to them, to obtain such favourable edicts, and so many other securities, that the

The king had sufficient reason to believe that so unseasonable a negotiation was a piece of Spanish artifice, in the taste of Hagemeau, which tended only to create more confusion, and render him suspected both by the protestants and catholics: but, although this proposition had been really sincere, he had a motive for rejecting it infinitely stronger, which was the implacable hatred he bore Spain and the house of Austria.

At last even the league, for some view or other, entered into the resolutions that were taken in the king's council. Villeroy, Jeannin, Zamet, and others, offered Henry, in the name of the league, to give him the crown upon certain conditions. It is very difficult to guess the true cause of this step: whether disgust at the pride and insolence of the Spaniards, an artifice to procure new supplies, or a design to alienate the protestants from the king. The only evidence of the sincerity of this proposition was the very hard conditions that were annexed to it: I shall soon have occasion to enlarge upon this subject.

One of the least consequences of this chaos of views and interests was the spreading over every affair an impenetrable obscurity, and creating in every mind jealousy and distrust. It is indeed surprizing, that after this the protestants and catholics could live together in the same camp, without exposing the king to the grief of seeing them mutiny, or cutting each other's throats. Those who in a prince sought for what is termed policy, might here find sufficient room to praise the prudence of a king who kept so many jarring interests united, and to admire his discernment in distinguishing those who acted with fidelity towards him; nor ought it to pass unobserved, that so many secret and various designs left an appearance of order and tranquility. Falsehood assumed the semblance of truth, and enmity concealed itself

ment, made him conclude this treaty, at which the whole kingdom murmured.

under

under the disguise of friendship. Those who pretended the greatest affection to the king, either betrayed him, or laboured only to advance their own interest.

It would be useless to dissemble, that the marechal de Biron often played this game, either through malice at being refused the government of Rouen, or desire of protracting the war ‖, or a disposition that took pleasure in creating discord and confusion. He was never known to agree with the general opinion, or to yield to the king's inclinations. He always contradicted, either for the sole pleasure of contradicting, or because he would oblige every one to embrace his opinion. In the council, when the question that has occasioned this digression was debated, he was neither for pursuing the enemy, nor for staying in Normandy: he thought it was necessary to go before and wait for the prince of Parma on the frontiers of Picardy, through which he would be obliged to pass in his return to Flanders. A project uncommonly chimerical, which was immediately applauded by the protestants, who were devoted to the will of this marechal.

The king saw plainly, that all endeavours to retain such discontented troops in his service would be in vain. The campaign was drawing towards an end, and a siege so long and fatiguing as that of Rouen, made the soldiers extremely desirous for rest. The king was resolved to grant it them: he followed that maxim, that a prince should always have the appearance of doing voluntarily even what he was constrained to do. He told the foreigners, that he was willing they should return home, and gave them permission to do so. He distributed all the money he had amongst them, leaving himself without any to supply his necessary expences: and though

‖ "What then, rascal! wouldst thou send us to plant cabbages "for Biron?" said this marechal to his son, who proposed to him an expedient to finish the war at one blow, Perefixe, part ii. ibid.

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they were not wholly ſatisfied in this reſpect, yet they had reaſon to be pleaſed with the noble manner in which he praiſed and thanked them for their ſervices. As he had left Normandy in peace, and (except Rouen, and a few other cities) entirely reduced under his obedience; and as there was no reaſon to apprehend that the army of the league would come thither ſoon, he permitted all the officers of his army, as well catholics as proteſtants, to retire to their habitations: and, to lay the marechal de Biron under a neceſſity of not abandoning him with his proteſtants, which, after this permiſſion, he foreſaw he would do, he declared that he would follow his advice, and in a few days would ſet forwards to Picardy; not that he really entered into this marechal's views, but as he had not yet ſhewn himſelf in that province, nor in Champagne, he thought it neceſſary to make himſelf known there, and to endeavour to conciliate the affection of the people towards him. A ſecret * and more powerful motive contributed to favour and confirm this reſolution; and Biron, who knew and flattered the king's weakneſs, drew from thence his beſt reaſon.

* * *

BOOK V.

WHILE the king with a few proteſtants purſued the road to Picardy, the prince of Parma haſtened to Paris, from whence, without any difficulty, he returned to Flanders, but little ſatisfied with his campaign, diſcontented to the laſt degree

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* His paſſion for mademoiſelle d'Eſtrées. He ſometimes ſtole away from his army to go and ſee her. He once diſguiſed himſelf like a country man, paſſed through the midſt of the enemy's guards, and came to her houſe, not without hazarding the danger of being taken. Notes upon the Henriade.

gree with the league, and its chiefs, and much troubled at a wound which he knew was incurable.

It is in general, and particular histories, that a relation of all that was performed this year, and the preceding, in different parts of the kingdom, must be sought for. The attack of St. Denis *, where the chevalier d'Aumale lost his life; the taking Stenay and Dun, in Lorrain; the defeat of the sieur d'Amblise, with the duke of Bouillon's † other exploits, either before or after his marriage; the loss of the battle of Craon ‡; the defeat of the sieur de la Guerche, and the blockade of Poitiers, are the principal actions, to which an infinite number of others in Provence, Dauphiné, and Poitou, may be added. From the departure of the prince of Parma, to the negociations which preceded the king's coronation, many things happened worthy of notice, and may likewise be found there. I have, in another place, excused my silence on these heads, and the liberty I allow myself of relating only the most important facts; among which are those that regard the

* Claude de Lorrain, knight of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, having surprized this city at the head of a body of troops in the service of the league, de Vic ran and beat them back. The chevalier d'Aumale was killed in this encounter.

† The duke of Bouillon took Stenay the same day that his nuptials were celebrated. Africanus d'Anglure d'Amblise, general of the troops of Lorrain, coming to attack Beaumont in Argonne, a city three leagues from Sedan, which the duke of Bouillon had taken from the duke of Lorrain, Bouillon defeated his troops under the walls of this place, and d'Amblise was slain.

‡ This battle was fought before the city of Craon in Anjou, which was then besieged by the royalist troops; they were composed of French, English, and Germans, to the number of 7 or 8000 men, commanded by the duke of Montpensier, the prince of Conty, the duke of Damville, &c. who were defeated by the duke of Mercœur at the head of the Spanish troops, and those of the league. About the same time, George de Villequier, viscount de la Guerche, attempting to pass the Vienne, a river in Poitou, was defeated at the head of a small body of troops of the league, and himself drowned in the river. See a relation of the blockade of Poitiers, and the several skirmishes before this city, in d'Aubigné, vol. III. book iii. chap. 11. For all these expeditions consult likewise the historians above cited.

count

count of Soissons, and the duke of Epernon; and even these the narration I have just made has not permitted me to enlarge upon.

THE count of Soissons ‖, after having abandoned the king's party, and been at open variance with him at Bearn, still retained hopes of marrying the princess, his sister, of whose affections he always remained master. By the death of Henry III. to whom he had last attached himself, he was left in the king's army, whom he served without affection, and only till he had resolved upon some new project, or till some opportunity favourable to his passion presented itself. He thought he found one in the siege of Rouen, an enterprize, in his opinion, of too much importance to afford the king leisure to employ himself in other affairs. He pretended to take a journey to Nogent, and, stealing away from the camp, went secretly, and with the utmost expedition, to Bearn, in order to accomplish his marriage there unknown to Henry. But he was one of those persons, whose most inconsiderable actions were strictly observed by the king. This prince penetrating into the count's designs, sent such orders there, that the count, upon his arrival at Bearn, found the princess Catherine indeed in the most favourable dispositions towards him, and some say that she had herself pressed him to come thither; but it was quite otherwise with the council, to which the king, in his absence, had committed the care of the province. The sieur de † Pangeas, who was at the head of this council, opposed him boldly, shewed him the orders he had received from the king, raised the country upon him, and obliged him at last to return to France, with the disgrace of having failed in his attempt; for which the count could take no

‖ Charles of Bourbon, son of Lewis the first, prince of Condé, (slain at Jarnac) and of Frances d'Orleans-Longueville. He died in 1612.

† --- de Pardaillan de Pangeas; or Pangeac.

other

other vengeance on Pangeas, than by throwing him down a ſtaircaſe one day, when he met him in the king's apartments at Pontoiſe.

By theſe ſtrokes the count of Soiſſons's character may be eaſily underſtood; to finiſh the picture, let it be added, that there never was a more blind or more boundleſs ambition. To him every new event appeared to lead him a ſtep forwards to the attainment of his ends, and engaged him in new meaſures, which threw him at ſo much the greater diſtance from them, as he imagined he approached nearer. He himſelf knew not the object his wiſhes aimed at; reſtleſs, uneaſy, and jealous, his ambition was fed by every thing, and drew advantage from nothing. Nature had given him qualities quite contrary to thoſe of the king; he reſembled him neither in humour nor manners. The king was open, frank, and generous; the count of Soiſſons to a mind naturally reſerved, and incapable of a wiſe foreſight, added an affected moderation and deſpicable cunning. He endeavoured to impoſe upon the world an aſſumed ſerioufneſs for an air of grandeur; laboured to appear impenetrable, and miſtook the frozen countenance which falſe gravity wears for reſpect. Pomp, and the oſtentation of grandeur, was his taſte: in a word, ambition had taken abſolute poſſeſſion of his heart, and his whole behaviour was made up of ceremony and formality. The near affinity this character bore to that of the Spaniards in general, was perhaps the ſource of that antipathy the king conceived for him, and which he could never ſurmount.

As for the duke of Epernon*, ambition was not his predominant paſſion; he was likewiſe actuated

* John Lewis de Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon, colonel general of France, governor of Guyenne, Metz, and the county of Meſſin. He died in 1642, aged 88 years; and, as the author of his life obſerves, he was the oldeſt duke and peer of France, the oldeſt officer of the crown, general of an army, governor of a province, knight of any order, and counſellor of ſtate, and almoſt the oldeſt man of rank in his time. They called him the king's wardrobe, be-

by an unconquerable pride; an insolence, or rather a natural ferocity, that shewed itself in every word and action. Ambition, 'tis said, makes use of various methods to accomplish its designs. Epernon, regarded in this light, could not be an ambitious man, for he used only one, which was that haughtiness by which he expected to carry all before him. In a word, ambition was, in him, but a natural love of independence, inspired by a harsh disposition, misanthropy, and a presumption that made him consider himself superior to friendship and rewards. He hated the king, because he hated the whole world; and, without doubt, there were moments when he was not well satisfied with himself. A constant disobedience to his superiors, an insolent behaviour to his equals, and a cruel and insupportable conduct towards his inferiors, make up the rest of his character.

EPERNON, finding that his enterprizes had not the success his pride had flattered him with, was obliged to alter his behaviour, and sometimes, tho' but seldom, behaved courteously to those whom

cause of the great number of posts which he possessed in this prince's houshold. There is recorded an excellent answer of his to Henry IV. who one day in anger reproached him with not loving him. The duke of Epernon, says his historian, without being surprized at the king's rage, answered coolly, but with great gravity, "Sire, your "majesty has not a more faithful servant than myself in the king-"dom: I would rather die, than fail in the least part of my duty to "you; but, Sire, as for friendship, your majesty well knows that is "only to be acquired by friendship." The king, who equally knew how to admire great actions and speeches of this kind, converted all his indignation into esteem, &c. Life of the duke of Epernon, page 225. The character which is here given of him by the duke of Sully, is rather too disadvantageous; however, it would not be easy to refute what he says: all the historians agree with him in charging the duke of Epernon with a boundless ambition, and his correspondence with Spain is proved by several letters of the cardinal d'Ossat. As for his extraction, "Patrem, says Busbeq, habuit bello egregium, 'avum tabellionem sive notarium." Epist. 17. On the contrary, according to father Vaissette, he descended from William de Nogaret, famous for his quarrels with the pope in the reign of Philip le Bel. Consult likewise our genealogists.

he

he might have occasion for; but even his kindnesses, if that phrase may be allowed when speaking of him, had a sort of spleen and contempt in them: so that if he hated the world, he was equally hated by it; no one served him from any other motive than fear, which was the cause that with great dispositions for war, and in a situation which might have made them useful, he ruined his affairs. Provence and Dauphiné held for him, and for Valette * his brother. These provinces, whose governor, before him, had been the grand prior †, the natural brother of their three last kings, despised him for his extraction, and hated him for his cruelty. They were rejoiced when Epernon (who when Henry III. was living would not remove far from the court) sent them la Valette in his stead, who made himself beloved in Provence, and served the king with fidelity. Henry III. becoming acquainted with the true character of his favourite, began to be apprehensive of him himself; he disgraced Epernon, and had thoughts even of putting him under an arrest at Angoulême. La Valette, on this occasion, lost his government; but all was restored to them after the murder of the duke of Guise, which laid Henry III. under the necessity of strengthening himself with every one whom he could engage in his party, at any price whatever. After the death of this prince, Epernon, whose vanity would not suffer him to obey the king of Navarre, quitted him at Pontoise, notwithstanding all the instances he made him by messieurs de Bellegarde and Roquelaure to return, to which he condescended himself to intreat him. To oppose a king was a circumstance highly flattering to his pride, and in his government of Provence he forgot nothing that might contribute to it: he was the first amongst the nobility to sign the king of Navarre's exclusion from

* Bernard de Nogaret, admiral of France.

† Henry, count d'Angoulême, son of Henry II. and of ---- Livingston, a Scots lady.

the crown. It will not be rash to judge, by Epernon, of the sincerity of this plea of religion, with which it was then usual to cover a design of restraining the lawful authority.

The remainder of the duke of Epernon's history will give a superficial knowledge of the affairs of the provinces in the south of France. He there experienced great reverses of fortune: the two brothers assisting each other mutually, were often worsted, and could not prevent three or four considerable parties from being formed in Dauphiné and Provence, which opposed them there, without reckoning one in each of the great towns, who endeavoured to make themselves independent. The duke of Savoy *, and the duke of Nemours his brother, carried on intrigues there, and their party became very powerful, after the king of Spain had permitted the duke of Savoy, who was his son-in-law, and whom he vigorously supported, to be acknowledged count of Provence, and hold this fief of his crown. In the midst of their successes, these two princes met with a formidable rival, who stopped their career, and reduced their party to ineffectual menaces. This was Lesdiguieres †, remarkable for his valour and good fortune against the duke of Savoy. He always continued faithful to the king, and could never be reproached with having appropriated to himself the fruits of his actions, nor of having coveted the sovereignty of Dauphiné. Perhaps he only wished that the king might long have occasion for his assistance, and never come into this province. Messieurs de Montmorency, and d'Ornano ‡, gave great strength to this party. The others were formed by the duke of Joyeuse ‖, the countess of Sault, and the count

* Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. He died in 1630.

† Francis de Bonne, duke of Lesdiguieres, constable of France.

‡ Alphonso d'Ornano, colonel of the Corsicans.

‖ Antony Scipio, knight of Malta, who took the title of duke of Joyeuse after the death of his brothers. Christina d'Aguerre, countess

of Carces, with the sieur de Vins. Lewis d'Aix and Cajoux, Ligny, Martinengue, and many others, raised tumults there, and filled these countries with divisions and slaughter; but their faction did not yet extend itself beyond the bounds of one city. La Valette was hardly able to support himself longer in Dauphiné, when he was slain at the siege of a little inconsiderable town ‖. The duke of Epernon immediately invaded this government: for form's sake he demanded letters patent for it from the king, who durst not refuse them to him; but, instead of quelling all these different parties, he went thither only to make a new one, upon which the king had as little reason to depend as any of the others. One may judge of this, by what passed at the siege of § Villemur, the only action which I shall give a particular relation of from memoirs, the authenticity of which I can answer for.

THE duke of Joyeuse, a zealous partisan of the league in Languedoc, having drawn together five or six thousand foot, and eight or nine hundred horse, in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, advanced with them on the 15th of June, in the year 1592, towards Montauban, pillaged the little villages, and the flat countries, and after exercising all the cruelties usual in those miserable times, came and laid siege to Villemur.

THE sieur d'Ariat, after whom I relate these circumstances, and the citizens of Villemur, had recourse to Thémines *, who commanded for the king in that province, and intreated him to come immediately with powerful supplies to their assistance. Thémines, knowing he was not strong enough, addressed himself to the duke of Epernon, and while

countess of Sault, baroness of Vienne. Gaspard de Pontevez, count of Carces. Hubert de la Garde, lord of Vins, Charles de Casaux, &c.

‖ Roquebrune in Provence.

§ A city of Languedoc.

* Pons de Lausiere de Cardaillac, afterwards marechal of France.

he waited for the reinforcement the duke promised to give him, sent a detachment of small bodies of cavalry and foot, which got into Villemur with great difficulty, the troopers on foot, because their horses could be of no use to them, the city was so closely invironed. Joyeuse was severely punished for the error he was guilty of there, as we shall see presently. This error was the attacking the town itself, instead of beginning with the castle, which, although much stronger in appearance, was in reality the weakest. Without doubt he was not sufficiently acquainted with the place, or had a design to make use of the magazines of corn, and other ammunitions, of which he knew it was full.

Epernon sent indeed a considerable body of troops; but as he had given them orders to act but faintly, and particularly to avoid hazarding much in fighting, these troops, although great expectations were raised by them, minded nothing but recreation, abandoned their posts, and by their bad example did more harm than good to the other royalist soldiers. Joyeuse, who did not want courage, especially when he was to act in person, finding the occasion favourable, and perhaps doubtful of the duke of Epernon's designs, fell upon his soldiers, surprized them, and would have made a great slaughter, if Témines had not run thither time enough to save the remainder; he could not, however, prevent seven or eight hundred from being slain. There needed no more to make Epernon * recal them absolutely. Témines afterwards strongly solicited both him and the marechal de Matignon for assistance, but in vain; and all he could do was to throw

* All this is so positive, that it may ballance the authority of de Thou, who mentions this fact very favourably for the duke of Epernon, and that of the author of this duke's life, who maintains that his soldiers drove those belonging to the league from Villemur, and put this place into a state of defence, p. 134. The Chronologie Novenn. agrees here with our Memoirs, book iv. p. 63. as likewise the Memoirs of the league, vol. V.

himself

himself into Villemur, with d'Ariat, two hundred and fifty arquebusiers, and about a hundred or a hundred and twenty troopers, to support the besieged, whom Joyeuse pressed more vigorously than before. He obliged Reiner, who was lord of it, but who was grown too infirm to perform the duties of a governor upon this occasion, to go out, and resolved to defend himself there till the last extremity, being assured that the king, whom he acquainted with his situation, would not suffer him to perish.

In effect, this prince wrote instantly to the dukes de Montmorency and d'Epernon, to send him supplies. Epernon, accustomed to disobey, gave no attention to this order; but Montmorency sent him Lecques † and Chambaut, with some brave protestant troops. These were still too few in number to oppose the army of Joyeuse, lately reinforced by the inhabitants of Toulouse: Lecques, and Chambaut, therefore, had recourse to Messilac, lieutenant for the king in Auvergne, and to the viscount de Gourdon, as remarkable for his courage and fidelity as for his deformity. These two officers marched immediately to the assistance of Villemur, with eight hundred arquebusiers, and two hundred and eighty horse. Joyeuse sent to offer them battle, which they refused, warned by the misfortune which had happened to Epernon's troops, and solicitous only to accomplish their first intention. After this refusal, the besiegers cavalry, who found themselves too much straitened in their lines, demanded permission of Joyeuse to remove into the neighbouring villages, which this general granted with some difficulty, and contrary to the opinions of the sieurs d'Onous and Montberaut. He obliged the officers to give their words, that upon the first signal which should be made them, they would return to the camp.

Messilac, Lecques, and Chambaut, perceiving

† Antony Du-Pleix, lord of Lecques.

ing that this removal of the cavalry had extremely weakened the army of the besiegers, divided their whole foot into four bands, to each of which they added fifty troopers, whom they caused to dismount. A regiment of eight hundred men was drawn up in battalia within view of the intrenchments, with orders to charge on a certain signal. Four hundred men attacked the first intrenchment, and were supported by the four troops. The guard there usually consisted of no more than two hundred foot; but Joyeuse, who had spies amongst us, being informed of the designed attack a few moments beforehand, sent thither four hundred men more, and at the same time made the cannon fire three times, which was the signal agreed upon with his cavalry. It happened, that either through slackness in obeying on their side, or eagerness on that of the protestants, this cavalry did not come up till after the action was begun. Our men advanced before sun-rise, and falling upon the first intrenchment, laid a hundred of those who defended it dead upon the ground; the rest fled towards the second intrenchment, and carrying thither only their fears, this, though much better than the first, was likewise stormed with considerable loss.

THEMINES beholding all within the walls, seconded the assailants, and made so seasonable a sally, that he completed the rout of the besiegers. Their cavalry shewed themselves that moment at the head of the camp; but instead of putting a stop to this confusion, they no sooner perceived the eight hundred men, which composed the body of reserve, with three hundred horse pushing against them, than they followed the example of the rest of the army, and sought for safety in flight. Their terror increasing every moment, it soon became a general rout, which it was not in the power of Joyeuse to prevent. Dragged along himself with the fugitives, he gained a bridge of planks and ropes which he had ordered

ordered to be thrown over the Tarn. The number of those who hastened thither, on this side, overcharging this bridge, it sunk under Joyeuse, and he and all that were with him were swallowed up in the river. Fear had so blinded the rest of the troops, that still imagining they saw a bridge where none now was, they plunged into the waves where it had stood. More than three thousand foot, and four hundred horse perished on this occasion, either by the sword or the water. A prodigious loss for an army so inconsiderable, whereas the royalists lost only thirty men. The citizens of Villemur beheld this astonishing spectacle from the top of their walls, with a joy mingled with wonder and horror; which made them compare an effect of fear, which had the appearance of a miracle, with that which the sacred history relates of the Egyptians at the passage of the Red-sea. But to return to the king.

THIS prince went into Picardy, and in order to give employment to his troops, sent the marechal de Biron to besiege Epernai. The siege was long and obstinate; Biron was slain there by a cannon ball *. And if the king, who during that time staid at Compiegne, had not resolved to shew himself before this city, they would have found great difficulty in taking it. He defeated some powerful succours that were endeavoured to be thrown into the place, and obliged it at last to surrender.

HIS funds failing him entirely, he was obliged, after this expedition, to disband the remainder of the foreign troops. He continued some time longer in his quarters, upon the report that was spread of the prince of Parma's having returned into France

* Which took off his head. He was almost as famous for his learning as his abilities in war. De Thou greatly regrets the loss we have had of his Commentaries. He commanded in chief in seven battles, and every wound he received in these battles made a scar. He was godfather to cardinal de Richlieu, who was named after him. The city of Gontaut, in Agenois, gave its name to this family. See the panegyric of this marechal in Brant. vol. III.

to execute the great projects he had formed against the king. The death of this brave general * happened very fortunately for Henry, who saw himself not in a condition to oppose such an enemy. The Spanish army, having lost its leader, dispersed. The time that was taken up in appointing his successor, gave the king leisure to breathe again; he drew near Paris, and thought of nothing but taking advantage of the Spaniards removal.

I DID not attend the king in his journey to Picardy; I went to Mante, where finding madam de Châteaupers in a disposition favourable to my love, I married this lady, and our nuptials were celebrated the same day that the prince of Parma †, with his army, passed through Houdan.

To confess the truth, the king's politics were not to my taste. I saw with pain, that the exigency of his affairs laid him under the necessity of complying with every desire of the catholics, while the protestants were neglected; and after the departure of the foreign troops, which gave their rivals many advantages over them, their assistance was of no

* At Arras, in the abbey of St. Vaast. The Spaniards were accused of having poisoned him through jealousy, but the wound he received in Normandy the year before, joined to the bad make of his body, was the only cause of his death, as was acknowledged when he was opened. Cayet, ibid. 90. See in de Thou, book civ. a panegyric on his great qualities. His body was carried through Lorrain to Italy attended by 160 horse, caparisoned in black. He was no more than 48 years of age. He complained of being twice poisoned by the Spaniards, if we may believe d'Aubigné, who assures us, that the Italians were so fully persuaded of it, that from that time they could never endure the Spaniards, vol. III. b. iii. chap. 28. And this also is the opinion of Bongars, book xlix.

† This could not be till the 23d or 24th of May, as the prince of Parma did not pass the Seine till the night of the 21st or 22d of that month. Here then is a mistake either in the New Journal of Henry III. printed in 1720, (where in the 271st page, the duke of Sully's marriage is observed to be celebrated on the 18th) or in the Memoirs of Sully. The baron de Rosny's second wife was called Rachel de Cochefilet, daughter of James lord of Vaucelas, and of Mary d'Arbalestre. She was first married to Francis Huraut, lord of Châteaupers, and Marais, who died in 1590. She survived the duke of Sully, and died in the year 1659, aged 93 years.

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consideration. I had, in particular, often experienced the effects of their hatred or jealousy, from whence I concluded, that I should never be able to advance my fortune. I was likewise disgusted with the king's behaviour towards me; his coldness, though I knew it to be feigned, had such an appearance of a total estrangement, that I determined to quit war, and retire to my estate, there to live far from business, and the tumult of life.

THE event justified the king's prudence, and I was the first to come over to his opinion, and to give him advice very opposite to my former sentiments; but then I saw things with other eyes. The reflection on all that the protestants and myself had endured; the little consideration I appeared to be then of, and somewhat of that general disposition of mind which always dictated the interest of religion, formed all my resolutions, and were the foundation of that system I built for the king, and which at that time seemed to me to be the only reasonable one. I would have had this prince, doing justice to those who had served him with zeal and affection, to have refused all other assistance, and cast himself entirely in their arms. I was persuaded that after such an open declaration of his dependence upon the protestants, England, Holland, and all the protestant powers in Europe, would exert themselves so effectually in his favour, that they would soon, without any assistance from the catholics, seat him upon the throne. In this, as in every thing else, the king's understanding was superior to mine. He knew, from the first moment, that a kingdom, like France, was not to be gained by foreign hands; and although it had appeared even possible, yet it was the hearts of the French, rather than their crown, that this good prince sought to conquer. And he would have thought the rewards which, on that occasion, he should be obliged to bestow upon the authors of his

elevation, to their prejudice, to have been an encroachment upon their lawful rights.

My last motive for retiring was, that a little after I arrived at Mante, the wounds in my mouth and neck, which I had received in that unfortunate rencounter at Chartres, opened again, and obliged me to go to Rosny to be radically cured, to prevent the fatal consequences which generally attend wounds of that nature. I continued there some time: after a life so tumultuous, as that which, till this moment, I had led, I tasted, with higher relish, the sweets that retirement offers to a heart detached from ambition. I amused myself there with writing the events varied by good and bad fortune, to which I had been exposed for the space of twenty years.

Buhy *, the king's lieutenant in the Vexin, came one day to visit me, and informed me that the king had written to all the governors to draw together what troops they were able, and to come immediately to his assistance; for it was about this time that they were in expectation of the prince of Parma's return into France; and Buhy therefore asked me, if I would not, upon this occasion, do as others did. This question recalled the remembrance of the many governments which I had requested, and had been denied to me; and, lastly, the post of one of the king's lieutenants, which the duke of Nevers, and the catholics had hindered me from obtaining, in a very haughty and insulting manner. I answered this officer, with some emotion, that if the king had had any occasion for my service, he would have done me the honour to write to me. Buhy found something of anger in my reply, and, like a good courtier, exaggerated it, when he repeated it to the king, and gave him to understand, that he ought no longer to have any dependance on me, for I had resolved to spend the rest of my days in the country. This cir-

* Peter de Mornay de Buhy, brother of Du-Plessis-Mornay.

cumstance was added by himself; for I did not esteem Buhy so much as to make him my confidant. "His "disposition then is greatly altered," replied the king immediately, "for he never failed to be present "on such occasions as are now approaching. Al-"tho' he excuses himself on account of his wounds, "I know well enough what detains him; he is of-"fended with me, and not without reason. He "would play the philosopher for the future; but "when I see him, I shall be able to make all up "again; for I know him thoroughly."

THIS conversation passed in the presence of the president † Seguier, who dined with me some time after, and related it to me. Having freely disclosed my most secret thoughts to this great magistrate, whom I knew to be my friend, an honest man, and an excellent politician, he answered me in these words, which I shall never forget, because they first opened my eyes, and removed my prejudices. "Sir, "you appear to me to be touched with resentment. "We live in a time when tranquility is very diffi-"cult to procure. The wisest amongst us are "silent, and patient, in hopes of more favourable "days, and the king is so prudent, and so virtuous, "that God has, no doubt, reserved our restoration "for him."

FROM that moment, finding no other inconveniency from my wound, than a little difficulty in speaking, I began again to ride, and followed by fifty horse, I made excursions over the great road of Verneuil and Dreux to Paris, in order to resume my former occupation, which I perceived was again likely wholly to engross me. In the second of these journeys, one day when I was riding towards Dreux, between the villages of Marolles and Goussainville, I met ten or twelve men on foot, who, the moment they saw us, struck into the woods with which that

† John Seguier.

country

country abounds. I followed them immediately, and seized two of them, who had not quitted the great road. These were peasants who were returning from Paris, whither they had been to sell their poultry. I asked them some questions, and they answered me very ingenuously; they told me, that it was their custom to travel in the night, to avoid the inconveniencies they were exposed to in those roads in the day, but that they had taken courage this once, having nine or ten persons in their company, among whom they said were three domestics belonging to messieurs de Mercœur, de Medavy, and de Vieux-Pont.

THERE needed no more to make me pursue these three men, whose mysterious journey excited my curiosity. It was impossible to overtake them; my people could only seize two others of those that were of Verneuil, from whom finding I could draw nothing by threatenings, I made use of another method. I gave them four crowns, and promised them more, if they would tell me all they knew concerning those three domestics. They desired me to follow them, and led me directly to a large hollow oak, surrounded with thickets, where they told me these servants had stopped, and put some papers into the trunk of this tree: in effect, I found there two tin-boxes, and a ticking sack, which seemed to me to be full. This acquisition consoled me for the messengers escape; and after rewarding the two men, I returned to Rosny, very impatient to open my packets.

THEY appeared to be such as I wished: in the first I found commissions from the duke of Maïenne to levy soldiers, several letters written in cyphers, in this general's own hand, to the duke of Mercœur: but papers more important engaged all my attention; they related to the third party, which was then beginning to be talked of, and amongst which I found two memorials that seemed to be of the utmost consequence. The first was a memorial of the demands

mands which the president Jeannin * made upon Spain, in the name of the duke of Maïenne; and the second contained the answer given to these conditions by the arch-duke Ernest for the king of Spain. All the reflections imaginable could not throw such light upon the duke of Maïenne's designs, the spirit of the league, and the politics of Spain, as the contents of these two pieces: of which this is an extract.

THE duke of Maïenne submitted the league to the pope, and put it under the king of Spain's protection, upon the following conditions, which regarded the party in general, as well as himself in particular. First, that the king of Spain should furnish, and maintain in the service of the league, an army of sixteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse; in which army there should be two thousand foot, and five hundred troopers, all French, of whom the duke of Maïenne was to have the sole disposal, besides four thousand foot more, and five hundred horse, French likewise, who were to continue near his person only, and to be maintained by Spain: That the number of these troops should be augmented as occasion required: That the duke of Maïenne should have the chief command of these troops, and those of the party, with the title of lieutenant-general of the crown, till a king of France was elected: That this election should be made in a general conference, by which they certainly meant the states of the kingdom: That till this election was made and confirmed, the pension which Spain already paid to the general should be augmented to as much more, that is, from thirty thousand livres a month, to sixty, besides a hundred thousand crowns, which he should receive immediately, and a hundred thousand livres after the ratification of the treaty; in expectation of which, they should begin, by putting him in actual

* René Jeannin, baron de Montjeu, president of the parliament of Dijon.

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possession of Burgundy: That after the nomination of the future king, the duke of Maïenne should be continued in the government of the state, with the title of lieutenant-general; and that then, and not before, he should yield up the city of Soissons to the Spaniards, because it was at present the only place of security he had for himself in France: That if he found insurmountable obstacles, either in the election of a future king, probably from the king of Navarre, or in the invasion and keeping of Burgundy for the duke of Maïenne, the king of Spain should make the duke amends, by an annual pension of three hundred thousand livres, for the possessions he might lose in France; which pension should never be lessened or taken away, whatever agreement might be made between the king of Spain and the acknowledged king of France, but be continued to his heirs for ever: That Spain should cancel all the duke of Maïenne's debts, or those of the king elected with the consent of this crown, if he was a native of France: That they should give suitable rewards to the other principal officers of the league; these were not expressed, either because the duke of Maïenne was less solicitous about the interests of others than his own, or that he thought this article would be easily settled, because, if money was wanting, the lords might be satisfied with pensions, dignities, or governments.

SUCH were the demands of the chief of the league, in which, as we have seen, he did not forget himself. For all this, he offered the king of Spain (besides the crown, which, although he was not mentioned, could only be designed for a prince of the house of Austria, since the duke of Maïenne seemed to exclude himself) he offered, I say, a certain number of towns, for whose names, as well as that of the future king, were blanks; those that Spain might take being to be restored to the French catholics, under the protection of the king of Spain and the

duke

duke of Maïenne. All was calculated for the security and caution of Spain, till the election of a king, without any further explanation; which proves also, that they thought this election would sufficiently indemnify this crown; at least that they wanted, by this insinuation, to flatter it with hopes, in order to procure an immediate and effectual assistance from it. What gave rise to this suspicion was, their care in insisting upon, and often resuming, the following clause: That till all these articles were agreed to at Madrid, for which they allotted the space of a month, Spain should first begin by sending a powerful supply into Burgundy, which they said was in great danger. The more to hasten the resolutions of this court, the duke of Maïenne, who throughout the whole treaty shewed himself to be a faithful servant (although a little interested) of the house of Austria, protested coldly, that if these conditions were not thought advantageous enough for Spain, she might turn to whatever side she pleased, for he was weary with bearing the burden, and wished for nothing more than to be eased of it.

But this was only a feint; he had to do with a council who would not so easily change, and who understood their interest still better. To this memorial the arch-duke answered, in the name of the king of Spain, That his majesty was well pleased with the title of Defender of the league, and would look upon himself as chief of the party: That they should find him always ready to grant them whatever supplies they demanded against the king of Navarre, and even more than they demanded; for he agreed to send into Picardy alone the nineteen thousand men formerly mentioned; it is easy to see with what design, this province bounding the Low Countries; besides those which he offered to send into different parts of the kingdom. He did not seem to be so much alarmed on account of Burgundy as the duke of Maïenne, probably because the council of Spain discovered

covered that this general, who had demanded the possession of this province, would be glad that the troops should be all employed there. Upon this article, he only granted wherewithal to raise a thousand German foot, and to maintain three hundred horse. He added, however, that if the whole force of the war was turned against this province, his catholic majesty would not refuse to send a considerable number of troops there; and without doubt, in this he meant to keep his word.

As to what regarded Maïenne in particular, his catholic majesty appeared much less liberal. Of all the articles this was the most reduced: he would make no addition to the pension of thirty thousand livres a month; and would grant him but, and that only while he continued in person in the army, two thousand foot, and five hundred troopers. Upon the other articles he was silent. With regard to those places which might be seized, Spain consented that the duke of Maïenne should keep what he had taken, provided she was allowed to do the same: she would not relinquish her demand of Soissons, and was absolutely resolved to have this city for a security for those advances she made in this war; she promised only to resign it after the election of the king: this nomination appeared still uncertain to Spain, who gave them to understand, that if she was satisfied with it, every thing might be expected from her gratitude, but beforehand she would risk nothing. For this purpose, all the other articles were left unanswered, and a new one was added, which was, that the duke of Maïenne should remove certain persons from about him, who, doubtless, did not support the interests of Spain with the French general; their names were not written; but it was said, that they had been signified by word of mouth to the agent for the treaty. Such were his catholic majesty's dispositions, who by attending only to his own interests,

tereſts, and reſolving to ſell his aſſiſtance very dear, followed exactly the duke of Maïenne's example.

The reading of theſe papers left no room any longer for reſentment in my mind; and thinking them of great importance to the king, I haſtened immediately to Compiégne. I found time and abſence had not altered his ſentiments with regard to me. I had half an hour's private converſation with this prince, to whom I related in brief the occaſion of my journey. The examination of theſe papers was deferred till the evening of that day, when, all the courtiers being retired, I was introduced into the king's apartment, and remained there ſhut up with him. After his majeſty had ſent for Beringhen and Choirin, to decypher the greateſt part of the papers, from them we learned whom the third party was compoſed of, which as yet had been only mentioned in whiſpers, and had been formed even in the court, and ſupported and directed by the abbé * de Bellozanne, the two Durets, and I believe the abbé Du-Perron; all of them dependents of the count of Soiſſons and the cardinal of Bourbon, and particularly attached to the laſt. In all appearance, theſe perſons were the authors, and at firſt the only promoters, of this faction, which was afterwards joined by meſſieurs de Nevers, de Longueville, de Villeroy, d'O, and the reſt of thoſe catholics who were in the court, who valued themſelves upon being too good Frenchmen to ſuffer the Spaniſh dominion, and too zealous for the Roman religion to conſent to have a proteſtant king. The count of Soiſſons ſome time after joined theſe gentlemen; and it was reported, that, inconſtant to his former miſtreſs, he was ſeveral times upon the point of marrying mademoiſelle de Longueville. They had aſſumed the

* John Touchard, abbot of Bellozanne; Lewis Duret, lord of Chevry, phyſician; and Charles Duret, counſellor of ſtate, intendant and comptroller-general of the finances, and preſident of the chamber of accompts.

name

name of politicians, to distinguish themselves from the royalists and leaguers, and to shew that they regarded the good of the state, and the preservation of the rights of the crown, beyond every other consideration. Their principal view was alike to exclude every foreign prince, the duke of Maïenne, and the king of Navarre, from the throne. The bulk of the party knew no more: but the leaders, who were masters of the secret, thought of nothing but getting rid of the two last by the sword or poison †; after which they might, without any difficulty, make the cardinal of Bourbon king ‡, and not to disoblige Spain entirely, procure a dispensation for him to marry the infanta.

When this project is compared with that of Jeannin, it is matter of surprize, that papers which contained such opposite schemes should be found in the same packet. Without seeking for the reason of it in the secrets of Providence, which by presenting the king, at one and the same time, with all the plots that were formed against his person, seemed to suggest to him such measures as were necessary to prevent them; it is my opinion, that it may be found in the different interests of those persons who corresponded together, and some from a great distance, such as the duke of ‖ Mercœur, without any other motive than that common hatred they bore to the king, which gave birth to a thousand chimerical designs, and delivered them up to those hints which darted into their minds, without any other fixed and determined object than that of excluding the king of Navarre. In such a confusion of sentiments, it is not

† This accusation is to be met with in no other writer, and is of the number of those which the author ought not to assert without giving likewise a proof.

‡ His name was Charles, he was the third son of Lewis I. prince of Condé, and Eleanora de Roye. His other brothers were, Henry, prince of Condé, Francis, prince of Conty, and Charles, count of Soissons.

‖ Philip Emanuel of Lorrain.

sur-

surprizing, that he should by the same means meet with such opposite schemes.

I CONTINUED three days at Compiégne, in which time I had several conferences with the king, who appeared to be sensibly affected with the designed attempts against his person, because he had flattered himself, that his conduct would have suppressed such thoughts. He sent me to Mante, perceiving that my endeavours to speak in these conversations might open my wounds. I received from this good prince all the marks of a tender and unbounded confidence. At parting, he desired me to observe carefully every motion of his enemies, and to prepare myself to give him good advice on his arrival at Mante, being resolved, he said, to regulate his behaviour in so difficult a conjuncture wholly by my directions. He stayed no longer in Picardy than was necessary to make some proper dispositions there, and set out for Mante. This city he preferred to any other, because by its situation it was best fitted to discover and overthrow the different cabals of his enemies, at a time when the intrigues of the cabinet were likely to succeed the operations of war. His council was already there, and he caused the princess, his sister, to be conducted thither also. After the discovery this prince had just made of the plots that were laid against his life, it would have been the greatest imprudence imaginable to have neglected any precautions necessary for his security. He doubled his guards, placed in Limay, which is the suburb of Mante, a body of English troops, whose affection to him was unquestionable, and resolved to hold all the world suspected, since he was convinced that those persons whom he had admitted to his councils, his table, and his pleasures, were capable of forming the most violent resolutions against him.

IF of all the favours that a prince (as estimable for the qualities of his mind as for the greatness of his actions) could grant, esteem and tenderness are those

those which have most effect upon a man of honour, how much am I obliged to this prince, who honoured me in particular with his confidence at a time when infidelity, treachery, and all that interest could suggest to subjects who had exalted this idol in the place of love to their king, had left him no other part to take than that of a general reserve and distrust. Nor can I forbear to add (for why should I omit a circumstance which of all others seems most likely to procure me the esteem of truly virtuous persons?) that in a conjuncture so delicate, this prince was resolved to resign himself wholly to my direction, and to me confide his destiny and crown *, for without

* If we may believe de Thou, Gaspard Schomberg, count of Nanteuil, Lewis de Revol, secretary of state, and himself, contributed to fix Henry IV. in his resolution of changing his religion. There is not a historian who ascribes it to any one particular person; they do not even seem to have thought of Sully in this affair, which however does not invalidate the truth of what is asserted in this part of his Memoirs, that it is chiefly, and even in some manner wholly to him, the honour of it is due. Tacitus tells us, that Augustus, after having deprived one of his chief ministers entirely of his favour, permitted him still to have the appearance of enjoying it: with regard to the duke of Sully, it was quite the contrary, for he already was in absolute possession of his master's favour, while no one suspected it. And that which is most remarkable in their history is, that a long time after this minister's favour with the king was known, by his being in possession of the first employments in the kingdom, even until his master's death, in public the king behaved to him with the utmost circumspection; while in private, never were familiarity and confidence carried farther between a king and his subject. Hence it was, that in some histories of Henry the Great, the authors of which, without penetrating into the secrets of the cabinet, contented themselves with representing only the public face of affairs, the name of Rosny is never mentioned, and that of Sully, so well known to writers better informed, very seldom, considering the part Sully played during the ten or twelve last years of this prince's life. Incomprehensible as this reserved and mysterious conduct appears, those who reflect upon the situation of affairs in those times, together with the religion of the duke of Sully, will comprehend, without any difficulty, the necessity the king and his master were under, to observe this conduct, and never to depart from it. Nor is this one of the least instances of the prudence and abilities of these two great men. I thought it necessary to make this observation once for all. "Rosny," says Matthieu the historian, vol. II. page 278. "had a long time a "share

me he undertook not the ſmalleſt affair, perſuaded that the advice of a man actuated by a ſincere attachment to him, and (if I may uſe the expreſſion) a true friendſhip, ought to be preferred to penetration and ability, when they are joined with a doubtful fidelity. Nothing ever gave me ſo pure and noble a delight as the honour of ſuch a diſtinction: but after having reſigned myſelf up to it ſome moments, I perceived the weight of that burden I was loaded with, and trembled amidſt my joy, leſt my weakneſs and incapacity ſhould engage me in ſome falſe ſtep that might prejudice, not me, for on thoſe occaſions ſelf, I believe, is leaſt in one's thoughts, but the prince who had laid it upon me.

FROM this moment, all thoſe precautions the king made uſe of for the ſafety of his perſon, I alſo obſerved in the advice I was going to give him. I prepared myſelf for it by the moſt ſerious reflections on the ſtate of the neighbouring kingdoms in general; and on that of France, of the parties into which it was divided, and of the king, in particular. I conſidered, that if in ſuch employments as mine, one cannot even be guilty of unintentional faults, without deſerving ſome reproaches, we draw thoſe reproaches upon ourſelves when we act according to the dictates of paſſion. This reflection led me to ſtudy carefully my own diſpoſition, and the bent of my inclinations, and convinced me of the neceſſity of beginning with obliging my own heart to ſubdue and forget itſelf. A ſerious review of my paſt conduct ſhewed me the injuſtice of thoſe complaints which I ſuffered frequently to eſcape me againſt the king's behaviour to me and the reſt of the proteſtants. I ſearched into the ground of it, and I ſoon found it in that common prejudice, that to be worthy of the religion one profeſſes, cruelty, perjury, and deceit,

" ſhare in the king's moſt important affairs; and from the time of " Henry III. was one of his moſt intimate confidants," &c.

ought

ought to pass for nothing, provided one can secure the success of it. I suppressed these sentiments, equally injurious to the author of religion, as dangerous to him who makes use of such unworthy means: and when I declare, that there was nothing I more distrusted than those snares which the zeal of religion might lay for me, I shall be easily believed, if the advice I gave the king be attended to.

When I was thus certain of myself, I the less feared to carry my views into that impenetrable chaos of different interests, and into future events, which offered, on every side, nothing but frightful precipices. Must the miseries of France be perpetuated by giving arms, perhaps, for more than an age, to two parties in religion, then almost equal? Must a prince, who so well deserved to be happy, wear away his whole life amidst the horrors of a war, which till then had not given him time to breathe; and, if I determined upon this, prepare for him labours infinitely greater than all he had yet endured? On the other hand, ought I to expose the whole body of protestants in France, who sought only justice and peace, to become victims of human policy, and deliver them up to the snares of their most cruel enemies; and while uncertain of the event of the war, and at a time when the king might be suddenly taken off, ought I to bring things to such an extremity, that France might, perhaps, become a prey to Spain, and to all her neighbours, or dismembered by a thousand tyrants, lose in one moment the glory of her name, the lustre of her monarchy, and the succession of her kings? What miseries to be expected by a war? what snares to be dreaded in a peace? how many dangers to be apprehended on all sides? Was it possible to take any resolution, when alarmed by so many inevitable evils?

But the greatest danger was the not fixing upon any resolution at all. At last, when all was thoroughly examined, it seemed necessary to prefer that

that which would put an end to the civil war, restore tranquility to France, submit it to a good king, and put it in a condition to take vengeance on its foreign enemies: I mean that resolution which might the most effectually remove the present inconveniencies, and procure time to bring a remedy for those that were to be apprehended. In one word, I resolved to prevail upon the king to embrace the Roman catholic religion *, and to persuade him to it by degrees. I was sensible, that by this means I should give disgust to two sorts of persons, the protestant neighbours of France, and the French calvinists. But as to the first, France, when united with itself, had no occasion for any foreign assistance: and it was easy give the second such advantages, as would make them behold this change without murmuring. With regard to both, I depended upon that gratitude which a prince like Henry could not fail of having for persons to whom he owed such powerful obligations.

THESE reflections wholly employed my mind from the moment I left Compiégne, and I was still absorbed in them when the king arrived at Mante. The first thing he did, was to send for me to come to him with the usual precautions. Jaquinot introduced me into his chamber before day, and we immediately entered upon our subject. Henry, who on his side had made a thousand reflections on the perplexing situation he was in, began by drawing a very natural representation of it; irreconcileable interests in the princes and nobility of the kingdom; hatred amongst themselves, and rage against him; mutiny and disobedience in all minds; inactivity in the foreign allies; intrigues and animosity on the part of the enemies; treachery within; violence without; rocks and precipices on all sides. The end of this pathetic discourse was to demand what remedy I was able to apply to these evils.

* The duke of Sully would then find his salvation as much forwarded by the romish as the protestant religion.

I REPLIED that, without taking upon me to give his majesty advice, I saw only three things for him to do, and he might determine upon which he pleased. The first was to satisfy every one's demands at his own expence, or rather at the expence of the state; the second was not to make concessions to any, but to endeavour to wrestle vigorously with them all; the third, which held a medium between these two, was to take away all obstacles that opposed his advancement to the crown, by turning Roman catholic. The king then told me, that what I had said to him was my opinion only, and commanded me to tell him plainly what I would do in his place. I endeavoured to make him comprehend the full extent of the theee different methods I had proposed to him, by examining them one after the other. I made him perceive, that by following the first, he would reduce himself to nothing, and that if there was a necessity to gratify wholly the rapaciousness of Spain, and the French leaguers, he would scarce out of so great a kingdom keep a few provinces for himself. As to the second, I represented to him, that as soon as he would give room to believe, that he depended only upon the claim his birth gave him to the crown, the desertion of all the catholics, and the unbridled fury of a whole nation of enemies both within and without the kingdom, would draw upon him a terrible storm. The inconstancy of fortune, and the usual reverses of war, although this prince had not yet experienced them, found their place in this reflection. As to the third, I was silent, only telling the king, that being a protestant myself, I could say nothing upon this subject.

WHILE I was speaking, I perceived the perplexity, into which the present conjuncture had thrown the king, to increase every moment. I did not doubt, but the review of all the difficulties would bring him to the point I desired. I was sure that he would not pause one moment upon the first of my proposals. I knew

knew him too well to believe him capable of agreeing to an accommodation which would leave him only the semblance of a king, a subject or dependant upon Spain, or reduced at last to a small part of France. It was the two others only that embarrassed him. On one side, he said, by continuing in his religion he saw united against him all the princes of his blood, the nobility of the kingdom, and those that were at the head of all affairs, and the finances, such as messieurs d'Epernon, de Nevers, de Longueville, de Biron, d'O, de Rieux *, de Villeroy, de Manou, de Châteauvieux, de Vitry, d'Entragues, and de Sourdis. It would be too tedious to mention them all. He saw them ready to resolve upon forming against him a body independent of the league, or, what was most probable, and likewise most dangerous, to unite themselves with the league, and deprive him of the possibility of ascending the throne. On the other, he objected the complaints of the dukes of Bouillon and la Tremouille, and the outcries of the protestants whom he was going to abandon; those who were so dear to him, and from whom he had so long drawn his only assistance. He represented them as passing from discontent to a resolution which despair at being sacrificed by an ungrateful prince would inspire, which was to elect another leader, canton themselves out in France, and oblige him to turn his arms against them. He ended with these words: "I can never use them ill, nor declare war "against them, for I shall always love them." This sentiment, which discovered a sensibility so seldom to be found in the hearts of princes, moved me extremely. I thanked him, in the name of all the protestants, by bending upon one knee, and kissing his hand. The reasons with which this prince op-

* René de Rieux, lord of Sourdeac. John d'O, lord of Manou, brother to the superintendant. Lewis de l'Hôpital, lord de Vitry. Francis de Balsac, lord of Entragues. Francis d'Escoubleau, marquis of Sourdis. Joachim de Châteauvieux.

posed his change of religion, and the manner in which he delivered them, were what alone dissipated my apprehensions, and confirmed me likewise in th opinion, that no other remedy could be applied to the present evils. I told him, that messieurs de Bouillon and de la Tremouille, and all of merit and distinction in the calvinist party, would not be so unreasonable as to take arms against him, for a resolution which necessity only had forced him to embrace, when he continued to treat them with that esteem and respect which was due to their persons and services. I explained all my thoughts on this subject to the king, and added, that the foundation of all religions which believe in Jesus Christ, being essentially the same; that is, faith in the same mysteries, and the same notions of the divinity, it seemed to me, that one who from a catholic became a protestant, or from a protestant became a catholic, did not change his religion, but followed, for the interest of religion * itself, that which policy suggested as the most proper means to compose all differences: but although my opinion should be erroneous, yet this must be allowed to be an incontestible truth, that the embracing the catholic religion did not include the necessity of persecuting all others; on the contrary, that God

* Add to these words of the duke of Sully what he says some pages before, and what has been observed a little higher, where he speaks of the duty and authority of kings in religious matters; it may be determined, that he was a calvinist without rigour, and considered all religions as indifferent which agreed in essentials. It is thus, that the author of the MS. which I have quoted in the preface of this work, speaks of it, and it is even the chief of those arguments which he makes use of to justify the duke of Sully for having given to Henry IV. such advice, as, without this, would agree but ill with the laws of conscience and natural rectitude. "It being his opinion," says he, speaking of the duke of Sully, "that the king might as easily work "out his salvation in our religion as in his own, he offered no great "violence to his conscience, in persuading him to this change; on "the contrary, it was effectually serving the state, nay, christianity "itself, without hurting his reputation." Happily, Henry the Great did not adopt the neutral opinions of his minister, as he himself confessed very sincerely.

perhaps

perhaps disposed the king to this change to give a new example to Europe, and one more worthy of religion itself: That the difference of religions had long produced the most tragical effects in France, and was a perpetual source of disorders and calamities, by the aversion with which it inspired people against those of a contrary faith from their own, which was equally the case with the protestants as well as catholics. I told the king, that he might cure this dangerous evil, by uniting those who professed these different religions in the bands of christian charity and love; or, if this was impossible, prescribe to them rules so just, as might make both parties contented with what was granted them. I did not doubt but this prince would be influenced by that single thought of immortalizing his memory, by restoring peace, plenty, and security, to a kingdom wasted with intestine divisions, and of meriting, by the use of those abilities he had received from heaven, the glory of giving happiness to France, after she had begun to despair of it, and to look upon her wounds as incurable. I am certain, that this motive was more interesting than that of his own quiet; which, however, I did not forget: and I obliged Henry tacitly to confess, that his spirits, after being exhausted, if I may use the term, with war, demanded a situation less turbulent, and more tranquil.

The strongest proof of the reasonableness and justice of the arguments I used upon this occasion, was, that the king, who possessed that happy sagacity of distinguishing immediately the truth or falshood of any position, confessed to me that my discourse had penetrated to the bottom of his heart, which, he added, still resisted strangely, but that he believed he should follow no other advice. In effect, at the end of three days, he had taken his resolution, and he now only endeavoured to remove the difficulties which remained. Some of these regarded his own opinion; for as sincerity and rectitude were fixed in

his heart, and regulated all his words and actions, I am persuaded, that there is not any thing which could have prevailed upon him to embrace a religion which he inwardly despised, or even doubted of. A prince who had never deceived mankind, could have no intention to deceive his God.

THE other difficulties related to the leaders of the protestant party, whom the bare proposition of changing his religion would not fail to make revolt, as well through fear, as a point of honour. He assembled them, and addressing himself to the most distinguished amongst them, which were monsieurs de Bouillon, de Sancy, Du-Plessis, de Salignac, de Morlas, de Constans, and Salettes *; I also being present. He told them (with an intention to sound their inclinations) that he had brought them together to know their opinions upon what he had to communicate to them. He said he had received certain advices, that Bellozanne, and the two Durets, agents for the third party, had had an interview with Villeroy and †

* ---- Salettes was president of the parliament of Pau, and counsellor of state at Navarre. Morlas, his natural son, was member of the privy-council, counsellor of state, and superintendant of the magazines of France. They were both converted. Henry IV. when he was informed of the death of Morlas, who was a man of great merit, said, "I have lost one of the wisest men in my kingdom." Chron. Novenn. book viii. p. 545.

† After having diligently collected all that the most judicious of our writers have said concerning these two men, of whom the duke of Sully speaks so disadvantageously in many places of his Memoirs, I think I may be able to assure the reader, with absolute certainty, that, on one side, their great and only object was to preserve the catholic religion in France, by excluding the king of Navarre from the throne, till he abjured calvinism, or to force him to abjure it; and, on the other, to prevent the effect of the Spanish policy, the design of which was, either to deprive the royal family of the crown, or to dismember the kingdom. These are clearly proved to be the views of Villeroy, by the conduct he observed in the conference at which he assisted, by the advice he frequently gave to the duke of Maïenne, not to confide in the council of Madrid; by the reserve with which that chief of the league communicated to him his secret designs; by the account of the president Jeannin's negotiations in Spain; by the behaviour of both in the states of Paris, and still more by the hatred the Sixteen bore them. Their prudence, their moderation, and their abilities in regulating affairs, made them the soul of the party, even in opposition,

Jeannin, and that it was agreed upon to unite all the forces of the league and the other catholics against him; that the time which the catholics had so often threatened him with was now come, for they were going to abandon him entirely; their common design being now to place the cardinal of Bourbon upon the throne, to marry him to the infanta of Spain, and to endeavour by all possible methods to rid themselves of his person. That the cardinal, indeed, had expressed great reluctance to comply with this last proposition, but, by all appearances, they would soon gain his consent, when they convinced him, that the crown could by no other means be secured to him. He conjured them to tell him sincerely what they thought he ought to do upon this occasion, especially upon the desertion of the catholics, which would reduce his party to the last extremity.

By the noise and confusion this declaration raised in the assembly, it would seem that all those who composed it, having never made any reflections upon what might happen, incapable of conducting their designs prudently, of keeping one determined object in view, or of preserving any sincere attachment to the king, had till then thought only of living from day to day; of gaining time, and profiting by their master's abilities for war. They could never agree, nor form any resolutions fit to be approved of. They did not know whether to wish for peace, or continue the war. One said, that there was nothing to be done but to resume their arms, and risque all at one cast. Another was of opinion, that by arresting eight or ten of the principal catholics, who were not yet upon their guard, particularly the contrivers of

opposition, if one may so speak, to the party itself: without them this party, actuated by a blind and furious passion, would have plunged the state into absolute ruin. Consult Matthieu the historian, vol. II. page 66, 69, 86, &c. Chron. Novenn. book ii. &c. De Thou. Memoirs of Nevers. Villeroy's Memoirs, &c. See also what has been said upon this article in the preface to this work.

the plot, they might prevent the execution of it. Others more moderate, or perhaps more doubtful, contented themselves with saying, that it would be necessary to accommodate matters by negotiations, without advising how. I took this hint, and by annexing it to some reasonable expedients, carried all the votes for a negotiation. They were not ignorant that I had some influence over the count of Soissons, and that I had free access to the cardinal of Bourbon. This cardinal often said in public, that although I was a huguenot, there was no person in the world for whom he had so strong an inclination as me. I offered to use my mediation with these two princes, to prevail upon them not to listen to the persuasions of the king's enemies; and the better to ensure success, I promised I would endeavour to gain their dependents and counsellors, especially the abbot de Bellozanne, the Durets, confidents to the count of Soissons, and a lady called madam des Rosieres, an intimate of the cardinal's.

No person opposed this advice, doubtless because the protestants, who had heard the declaration, sensible they were too weak actually to renew hostilities, thought that at present there was nothing better to be done. The king, on his side, was not sorry at its being unanimously voted by the protestants, that he should address himself to the princes of the blood, and hold a commerce with the catholics of the league. According to my plan, I began with the abbé de Bellozanne. I knew that jealousy had made him the secret enemy of the Durets, and believed that by taking him on this side, confirming him in his hatred, and flattering him with having shortly the chief part in all affairs, I should bring him to my purpose. I introduced myself with telling him, that I was come to thank him, in the name of the king, for having in his favour so generously opposed the attempt of the Durets, which could only proceed from the rectitude of his heart, and his good-

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will towards the king, which his majesty, although he had but a small acquaintance with him, esteemed as he ought: so that he might expect the most convincing proofs of his affection, which would certainly be the procuring him a cardinal's hat, or at least, one of the richest benefices in the kingdom, when those rewards were in his power, by his change of religion, which was likely to happen very shortly.

This introduction, which flattered his vanity extremely, gave me occasion to enter, as if undesignedly, into the secret proceedings of the Durets, which I pretended to be well informed of, in order to learn them from him, and to engage him to oppose them more absolutely. In effect, I had scarce dropped a few words on this subject, when my man, giving way to his inclinations, fell severely upon the Durets, and spoke so much to their disadvantage, that I fell into the other extreme, and believed that he was induced by his hatred of them to accuse them falsely. The hint of the cardinal's hat and the bishopric producing its effect, Bellozanne pretended to feel the zeal for the king's service, which I had affected to attribute to him. He endeavoured to persuade me, that he would oppose the violent resolutions of the catholics, whose intrigues and views he informed me of. I flattered myself for some time, that I had brought over this man to the king; but rogues soon resume their natural character. Immediately after he had made this protestation to me, he made one quite the contrary to the cardinal of Bourbon, and afterwards to Villeroy and Jeannin, to whom he repeated all the conversation he had just held with me. If he drew advantage from his treachery, by the increase of favour it procured him, I, on my side, perhaps, made better use of it for the king, than if he had kept the secret: besides, finding means from thence to inform these gentlemen of the king's disposition to embrace their religion, which drew them secretly towards this prince, Bellozanne's impru-

dence produced likewise another good consequence, which was the inspiring them with a desire of supplanting each other in their endeavours to acquire his favour. I willingly therefore pardoned Bellozanne's double knavery, and even drew a third fruit from it, with regard to the Durets.

THESE gentlemen, perceiving the honour Bellozanne had gained by the new secrets he had disclosed to his patrons, and the increase of favour they had procured him, were the more ready to hear the propositions I went afterwards to make them. I told them, the king, offended at the knavery of Bellozanne (which in reality he was, because he had carried it so far as to give umbrage to the protestants) would have no commerce for the future with a man so little to be depended on, and was disposed to make use of them in the measures he would shortly take. I confided some papers to their care, the reading of which I was certain would have a wonderful effect. This was the scheme for an agreement between the league and Spain, and the answer in consequence of it, which they had no knowledge of, and which I shewed to them that moment. This was a mortifying stroke for them; they thought themselves despised, and the project so reasonable as to fear it might be executed, and affairs brought to a conclusion without their participation; which to these sort of men seems the greatest of all misfortunes. They hesitated not a moment in offering me earnestly their services for the king. The change of religion, which I had also insinuated to them, seemed to remove all the opposition that could be made to this prince. They were charmed at being employed in a scheme, the intention of which appeared to them more happy than that which the duke of Maïenne had proposed to Spain: or rather there remained no other part for them to take, after the advantage Bellozanne had just gained over them. In effect, they kept

kept the secret better, and laboured in it to more purpose.

I APPLIED myself afterwards to the abbé Du-Perron*, who by his character, his fame, and his eloquence, had more power with the cardinal of Bourbon, when he wanted him either to take or change a resolution, than all the artifices of Bellozanne and the Durets. We had been acquainted a long time, and he had received some favours from me. I concerted my discourse beforehand, as having to do with a man for whom eloquence, great sentiments, and deep reasoning, had powerful charms †; and I introduced into it as much or more of politics and worldly views, as of religion. My brother, the governor of Mante, was present at this conversation, when after having slided into my discourse some mention of the king's future abjuration, I undertook to prove to Du-Perron, that except Spain and some turbulent persons in France, it was the interest and advantage, not only of France, but of all Europe, that the king of Navarre should ascend the throne, and possess the kingdom in the same extent, and with the same power, which had been enjoyed by the kings his predecessors.

I BEGAN with the pope. I told Du-Perron, that he who had so perfect a knowledge of the court of Rome, knew better than any other person, that Clement VIII. now in possession of the holy see, was neither so violent as Sixtus V. nor so mutable as Gregory XIV. That the pope considered the present affairs of Europe and christianity in a clear and impartial view. That it was not his intention, by breaking the necessary balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, to subject France to Spain,

† James Davy-Du-Perron, afterwards bishop d'Evreux, and then cardinal: he will be mentioned hereafter.

‡ The duke of Sully's character of the cardinal Du-Perron seems more conformable to truth, than that given him by Joseph Scaliger, who treats him only as a babler, *locutuleius*, or *locutu levis*.

because he was not ignorant of any of the views of this last power for universal monarchy. That the pope would in this find not only his interest as common father of the catholics, but also his temporal interest in particular, because Italy and the patrimony of St. Peter would soon follow the destiny of France, and the other kingdoms; and the pope would be in danger of seeing himself one day reduced to the quality of chaplain to the kings of Spain. That besides, his holiness had too much judgment not to open his arms to a king, as soon as he should express his desire to be received there, without troubling himself about that mighty phrase a relapse, with which fools only were affected.

THERE was still less difficulty to be apprehended, with regard to my proposition, from the other crowned heads of Europe; I therefore did not dwell long upon them, that I might be at liberty to resume the conversation upon Spain. I asked the abbé Du-Perron, if he did not agree with me in the opinion, that those deep politicians who gave rise to all the disorders in France, began to despair of the success of the great project they had formed to conquer all France, and this upon the knowledge they had, as well of the king and the protestants in his interest, as of the French catholics. Could the king of Spain ever seriously intend to make a Spanish province of France, and flatter himself that his domination would be endured by a people, who had alway emulated and hated Spain? Of all this there was already more than bare suspicion.

BY the king of Spain's conduct it was plain, that he imagined the dukes of Maïenne, Guise, and Mercœur, sought only to make him their dupe; nor had he a more favourable opinion of the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, whom he saw make use of his troops and money without shewing any greater respect for him. One convincing proof that these were the real sentiments of Philip was, the propositions he had made,

made, and often renewed, to the king of Navarre, by D. Barnardin de Mandoce, Moreau, and the count de Taxis: for, in reality, this prince seeing that all he could pretend to from the troubles in France was, at the most, the possession of two or three of its provinces, it was of little consequence to him, whether he obtained them from the king or the league. It is true, that if he divided France amongst the chiefs of the league, he gained hopes of one day getting it all to himself, by separately attacking those petty kings: but that, in effect, he purchased these hopes at a very high price, by that scarcity of troops and money into which the greediness of the league had thrown him. And although the king should be able to maintain the war but a short time, Philip perceived that he might be obliged to recall the supplies he lent to France, having but sufficient for himself in Flanders, where the war raged more fiercely every day.

OBSERVING that Du-Perron listened to me attentively, and seemed to be convinced of the reasonableness of all I said, I did not so soon quit the subject of Spain. I told him it was not probable that so many brave men, fond of their liberty, their laws, and customs, would ever be easy under a foreign slavery, and resolve to bear away no other reward for their gallant actions, than the honour of being dependents upon the grandees of Spain, or at best pensionaries of a king, who although he had greater obligations to the prince of Parma than to any other person, suffered him to expect no reward of his services till his death: That the whole view of the French lords, by seeming to join the king of Spain, was only to procure the grant of greater rewards from Henry, while he continued in the profession of the protestant religion; after which they would abandon, without any difficulty, that hacknied reproach of a relapse, as well as the design of chusing a king from amongst themselves, the marriages of the infanta,

and all the rest of their idle projects. For a proof of the truth of what I said, I produced the treaty which the league had proposed to Henry, by Villeroy and Jeannin, soon after the raising of the siege of Rouen, which I have not given a full account of in its place, but shall lay before the reader immediately. After this, turning suddenly towards Du-Perron, I asked him, if he was not of the interest of all good Frenchmen, and would not be the first himself to prevent such designs from being effected; whether the good of the state required, that by destroying in a moment an edifice which had cost the kings of France such labour to raise, and which some of them had cemented with their blood, France should be again filled with those little tyrants, ambitious and cruel, who claimed a right of giving law to their prince, and who were always ready to fly before the first enemies that attacked them; And lastly, if he did not confess that a monarchical government, by which all the members are united, and under the direction of one only head, was the most glorious and most advantageous of any, and for the French nation in particular?

I CUT short my discourse upon this third party of politicians, by observing to Du-Perron, that one of these two things must necessarily happen, either that they would unite themselves to the league, and so deprive it of all assistance from Spain; or take measures separately from it, which would produce the necessity of destroying, or being destroyed by it. In any of these cases, nothing could happen that would not be for the king's advantage. To conclude with what related to the king himself, I found no difficulty in making the abbé confess, that this prince was absolutely fitted to reign over the French. I represented to him, that his reputation was so well established every where, that the league had great reason to fear, and the third party (whose interest and credit were but very small) still more, that in the provinces, where no one delivered himself up so blindly to the ca-

price of the league as in Paris, they would put themselves entirely under the protection of this prince, when their intoxication was over, and had given place to that love of rest so natural to those who have suffered a great deal. That the provinces began already to discover their discontent openly; but without that, could not the king, brave and experienced as he was, and assisted only by the protestants and foreigners, maintain the war a long time, and guard against domestic attempts upon his person? They had seen him when he had not ten cities in his party, and with only a handful of men, make a stand against all the forces of the kingdom. I concluded with saying, that instead of giving the enemies of France the pleasure of seeing her waste and destroy herself, it was the general interest, to favour and support a prince, who appeared capable of restoring her to her former tranquility, and of raising her to a new degree of splendor.

The abbé Du-Perron had no reply to make to these arguments; he was convinced of their force; and, as I expected, knew well how to bring over the cardinal of Bourbon to his opinion, by adding to them all those which his own penetration suggested to him, and which he did not fail to adorn with all the persuasive charms of eloquence. The remainder of this year, and the beginning of the next, were employed by him and I in going backwards and forwards, and in conferences of this kind. As soon as a negotiation was begun, we had more negotiators than we wished.

It is certain, that Villeroy and Jeannin had a long time before presented the king with the scheme of a treaty, in the name of the league, by which they offered, upon certain conditions, to acknowledge him for king. This piece is curious enough to deserve an abstract should be given of it. The true spirit of the league discovered itself there plainly. The king's abjuration was at the head, as the first and principal condition.

condition. They required, that in the space of three months he should make a public profession of the catholic religion; that he should restore it in all those places from whence the superiority of the reformed had banished it; that he should break off all alliance with them; that they should have no share in the dignities, embassies, and employments of state of any kind whatever: in a word, that their continuance in France should be tolerated only, and for a certain time.

MANY other articles seemed to be inserted there only to persuade the people that the chiefs of the league, by treating with Henry, had nothing but the service of religion and the state in view. Such were the clauses of naming to benefices, conformable to the canons; that of holding the states from six to six years; and many others.

THESE were all specious conditions, but they added (which was the most essential point for the authors of the project) That the king should acknowledge, authorise, and support the league with all his power: That he should leave a certain number of towns in their hands, without even putting a garrison into them; the meaning of which was, that he should reign under them: That he should distribute all the governments of France amongst such of his principal officers as they should name to him: That he should keep a sufficient number of troops to maintain the roman-catholic religion there: That he should not dispose of the taxes, imposts, and other revenues of the crown; but they should be all applied to this use, according to a division proportioned to the quality and occasions of those governments: That all the garrisons which should be put in the fortresses of the kingdom should be paid in the same manner. The distribution of these governments was as follows: Provence was to be given to the duke of Nemours, Languedoc to the duke of Joyeuse, Bourbonnois and Marche to the duke of Elbeuf,

Elbeuf, Bretagne to the duke of Mercœur, the two Vexins, with the title of governor, to d'Alincourt, part of Normandy to Villars, the Isle of France to the baron of Rosne, Orleanois and Berry to la Chatre, Picardy to the duke of Aumale, Champaigne to the duke of Guise, with the post of high steward, and all the dignities and benefices which his family had enjoyed.

THE duke of Maïenne had, with reason, the largest share. To the government of Burgundy, which was allotted for him, they added those of Lyonnois, Forêt, and Beaujolois; and in all these provinces gave him a power that hardly left the king the shadow of any authority: the right of disposing, as he pleased, of governments, lord-lieutenantcies, and other employments, not only in the army, but also in the finances, and courts of judicature; and what was still more, the nomination to ecclesiastical dignities and benefices: and to all these extraordinary advantages, they added the post of constable, or lieutenant-general of the crown. It was this only that seemed worthy of the duke of Maïenne's acceptance. They likewise kept in reserve four marechals batons †, and the league, at their own leisure, were to name the persons on whom they were to be bestowed; besides very considerable pensions to the most distinguished amongst them, they carried their violence so far as to lay the king under an obligation of clearing the debts of some considerable persons of their party whom they should name, to the number of twenty. And, to conclude, withabsolutely tying up his hands, they added, that he should allow the league to chuse the foreign princes that were to accede to the treaty, and be guarantees for

† These four marechals batons were given the following year to Rosne, la Châtre, Bois-Dauphin, and Saint-Pol, each of whom will be mentioned hereafter. On this occasion there is a *bon mot* related of Chanvalon. Sir, said he one day to the duke of Maïenne, you have made bastards, which will be legitimated at your expence.

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its execution. The pope's name only was expressed; doubtless; the blanks were to be filled up with the king of Spain amongst the rest. By this they too plainly acknowledged the views of the Spaniards. Charles V. required nothing else than such a scheme when he said, that he had been falsely accused of hating a king of France, since instead of one, he wished there had been twenty.

No person believed that the league, by treating with the king on conditions so injurious to this prince, could persuade themselves that he would submit to them. It was more than probable therefore, that they did it in order to make his refusal give disgust to the dregs of the people. The king likewise, far from treating these proposals as a serious matter, or answering them privately, as he would have done had he thought it possible to have come to any accommodation, sacrificed them immediately to the protestants, who gave this treaty all the epithets it deserved; it even turned the catholics against the author; for these catholics finding that all there was badly designed; that it was full of articles which, being only snares, would prove an inexhaustible source of difficulties; and that there were some which it was impossible to execute, they took no notice of what made the strongest impression upon them, which was, that by the distribution of favours and rewards, nothing remained for them.

The king making no other use of these proposals than to bind those who served him more closely to his interests, gave a very short and cool answer to the president Jeannin. It was at the camp before Caudebec. There is no necessity to repeat the contents.

Civil wars, especially those wherein religion has a share, give a freedom and boldness which on any other occasions would be very surprizing. Jeannin, offended at the ridicule with which his project had been treated, answered in writing, which he addressed

ſed to the king himſelf, That he was greatly aſtoniſhed at his behaviour towards him: That if his project was well conſidered, he would find that he had not yet ſtipulated for ſufficient advantages for the league: That the only fear he had when he drew it up was, that it would be diſavowed, eſpecially by the duke of Nemours, who, inſtead of a government, had already formed a principality for himſelf in Lyonnois, with the approbation of the king of Spain: And he had ſtill more reaſon to believe the duke of Maïenne would be diſpleaſed at it, whoſe intereſts had been too much neglected in this treaty (certainly this moderation of Jeannin's was truly admirable:) That, in his opinion, he had ſhewn the king his readineſs to ſerve him, by not mentioning his giving the league any towns as a ſecurity for the performance of his word (as if thoſe which were to be beſtowed upon the governors did not anſwer the ſame purpoſe:) That, to pleaſe the king, he had eluded the queſtion, of making thoſe governments hereditary. This indeed was true, but after the privileges he had inveſted them with, would it be difficult for them to ſeize this alſo?

Jeannin afterwards obſerved to the king, with great freedom, or rather an exceſs of inſolence, that the catholics having with juſtice taken arms againſt him, he ought not to make uſe of the words crime, and abolition; for they were entitled to treat with him upon the foot of an equal, becauſe they did not look upon themſelves as enemies ſubdued, nor him as king, while the cardinal of Bourbon, the only acknowledged king in France, was alive; nor even after his death could he claim that title, on account of his religion; therefore it was the body of the monarchy which treated with a foreign prince: that, for the ſame reaſon, the king's acceptation could not be called an edict of pacification, granted to a king by his ſubjects, but an amicable contract with a people, who freely choſe a king after the reaſons for refuſing

refusing him were removed. Many other impertinences with which this letter was filled, do not deserve to be repeated. Jeannin concluded, by absolutely rejecting all assistance from messieurs de Bouillon, Du-Plessis, and the other protestants whom the king had mentioned in his letter, and declared he would have no intercourse with them.

While the king deliberated upon what resolutions he should take, the States were held at Paris †. The hint of assembling them came from the prince of Parma; and it must be confessed, that by the methods he pursued there, in order to accomplish his designs, a resolution more dangerous for the king's cause need not have been taken. This general intended to have summoned them at Rheims, and to have renewed all his endeavours to make himself master of the deliberations within; while, with a superior army without, he retained the people in his party, and the nobility in their duty, he persuaded himself that he should obtain an election entirely agreeable to the king of Spain, and cause the elected monarch to be crowned immediately. This whole plan was the effect of deep politics ‡: quick dispatch, great liberality, a well-chosen opportunity, and, above all, an army capable of inspiring awe, these were indeed the true means of bringing affairs to an issue, and of excluding the king for ever from them. But the prince of Parma dying just as he was upon the point of executing these projects, they all expired with him, or were afterwards conducted nei-

† The States were ordered to meet the 25th of January, but they were not opened till next day, in the Louvre, which was prepared for that purpose. All the speeches, acts, and ceremonies of this assembly, may be found in many of the historians. See particularly de Thou, book cv. Davila, book xiii. Memoirs of the league, vol. V. Villeroy, Mem. of State, vol. IV. Mem. of Nevers, vol. II. Matthieu, vol. II. Chron. Novenn. for the year 1593, book v. Satyre Menippée, &c.

‡ See the duke of Parma's letter on this subject to the king of Spain, Chron. Novenn. book iv. fol. 5.

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ther with order, diligence, or other necessary measures. It is true, that the count of Mansfield, who succeeded him, came at last with an army as far as Noyon; but at that time, the same submission was not made to Spain, as had been before they had entertained hopes of seeing the king abjure calvinism; and the count of Mansfield returned without having done any thing; besides, there was now an alteration in a circumstance, which to the prince of Parma had always appeared of great consequence; this was, that instead of getting the states assembled at Rheims, the duke of Maïenne had prevailed upon the pope and the Spanish plenipotentiaries, who were don Diego d'Ibarra, the duke of Feria §, Inigo de Mandoce, and count John-Baptist de Taxis, to consent that they should be assembled at Paris. Each of these persons hoped, that in a city which was entirely in their interests by their alliances, their intrigues, and their presents, they might practise a thousand artifices to engage all the suffrages for themselves: but when this great disorderly body was assembled, they found themselves crossed by so many, and such different interests, that the Spaniards having only their own voices, like the rest, and destitute besides of the means of making them be heard by force, found that they should meet with more obstacles than they had foreseen; and from that time they feared, that they should draw no other advantage from all their intrigues and secret practices, than the embroiling affairs some time longer; till this entanglement of so many different views, and the impossibility of ever uniting them, would at length oblige them to obey the dictates of reason.

How would they be able to bring the pope into their measures, or rather his legates, who had each his particular design, the king of Spain, the dukes of Savoy and Lorrain, the dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, Mercœur, and Guise, in fine, the princes of

§ Laurent. Saurès de Figueroa y Cordua, duke of Feria.

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the blood, who had alſo their different deſigns †, of which they were no leſs tenacious? All thoſe factions, when the ſtates were opened, reflecting that this was the laſt effort of the party, had recourſe to a thouſand ſtratagems which deſtroyed each other, and according to the notion of what is called policy, involved and concealed themſelves under falſe meaſures to bring others to the purpoſe they deſired. To the great number of counſels already ſo perplexing, they added a flux and reflux of opinions, which formed a maze where no perſon knew where he was. No one declared his ſentiments at firſt, but ſeemed to ſpeak only to hide his emulation, and to make his real deſigns be gueſſed at.

THE Spaniards at this juncture regulated their conduct by their uſual maxim, and the particular caſt of their nation; or perhaps their deſign was to ſound the inclinations of the French, to diſcover if they would bear willingly a foreign prince to reign over them. When they perceived that by this delay they were in danger of loſing what they had been ſo long aiming at, they at laſt made the moſt reaſonable propoſition in their power, which was the marriage of the infanta ‡ with the cardinal of Bour-

† "The league was of this advantage to France," ſays le Grain, "that every one was willing to command in it, and none to obey."

‡ Clara Eugenia of Auſtria, ſecond daughter of Philip II. of Spain. Catherine, the eldeſt, was married to the duke of Savoy, but not till after the cardinal of Placentia, legate, and cardinal de Pellevé, had endeavoured, in vain, to bring France under ſubjection to Spain, by the marriage of this infanta with prince Erneſt of Auſtria, the eldeſt of the emperor's brothers. Villeroy's Memoirs of ſtate impute to the court of Madrid, as an error, by which Spain loſt the crown of France, their not ſuffering this infanta, the future queen, to come to France, unleſs the prince whom they deſtined for her huſband was declared and acknowledged; but I doubt whether the arrival of this princeſs at Paris would have removed all obſtacles. According to de Thou, the duke of Guiſe's party was ſo powerful, by the union of Spain and the clergy of France, that had not his own uncle, the duke of Maïenne, ſecretly oppoſed him, and the king of Navarre declared very ſeaſonably his reſolution to embrace the catholic religion, in all probability this prince would have been declared king. "The duke of Guiſe," ſays father de Chalons, after Matthieu, Hiſt. of France, vol.

bon. All the French nobles, with the Guises at their head, waited only for this step of the Spaniards, and concurred in one common design, which was; to make use of this proposal to kindle between the king and cardinal all the hatred that could animate two declared rivals, and consequently between the king and the leaders of the contrary party, the count of Soissons, the duke of Nevers, Longueville, and others. They suffered this proposition to be carried so far, as to have the articles drawn up and sent by Bellozanne to the cardinal; but the nobles afterwards uniting, knew how to put a stop to it, which they did, with a design that may be easily penetrated into, in order that what these lords took away from the cardinal and the princes of the blood might fall into their own power, as the princes of the blood, by seeming to resign their hopes in favour of the cardinal, had an oblique view towards themselves; which shewed them, that after him the crown would more easily revert to them, than if a foreigner had first possessed it. The Spaniards comprehended the meaning of all the intrigues of the princes of Lorrain, and, one may easily imagine, never forgave them.

THIS common interest of the nobles, which united them against Spain and the princes of the blood, divided them afterwards into as many factions as there were persons. Each thought himself most worthy of the diadem. Jealousy and malice soon actuated the whole party to such a degree, that each disputed for the crown, for the sole pleasure of hindering another from obtaining it. Some of these parties objected to one person only, and comforted himself for not being able to succeed in his own designs, if he could overthrow his. Of this class was the clergy, which, without naming any person for

vol. III. p. 227. "was praised for the moderation he discovered on "this occasion. He gave no indications of his having flattered him-"self with such agreeable hopes, nor shewed any solicitude for so "great a fortune."

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the throne, used only their utmost endeavours to hinder the king of Navarre from being elected. Another undertook to supplant two, three, or more of the competitors: but there was not one from any of these motives, who was capable of forming a party so much superior to the others, as to bear down all its opposers. The people, although generally the slaves of prejudice to one particular candidate, were here, by the number of them, hindered from determining. And upon this occasion it happened, as has been often experienced, that adopting the style of that sort of indifferent and neutral persons who are always to be found in public assemblies, an affair of this importance was turned into a mere shew, and caused only laughter at the unhappy candidates who were rejected.

But these intrigues, this play of falshoods, could not last long; in such sort of debates, the first resolutions, and the first motions, are suggested by the passions. If by a concurrence of causes they are prevented from succeeding, reason, though it slowly appears in tumultuous assemblies, yet forces itself at last to be seen and acknowledged, and after long opposition is followed through necessity. The first thing that was done on this occasion was by means of the parliament, which weighing deliberately the different proposals that were brought upon the carpet, either for a Spanish king, or one of Lorrain, found that it would be an everlasting reproach to them, to suffer a law so fundamental as the hereditary right of succession to be infringed, and began, without knowing what would be the consequence, by granting an edict * which forbad the carrying

† The edict was passed the 28th of June. "This action," says Villeroy, vol. II. p. 58. "was the more applauded by all good men, "as the danger that attended it was so great; it was certainly of great "use, and I must say, that the kingdom owed its safety to the courts." John le Maitre, although made president of the parliament of the league by the duke of Maïenne, the president Edward Molé, the counsellors William du Vair, afterwards keeper of the seals, Stephen Fleury,

the crown out of the royal family. This was far from being a new thought; there was not one whose mind had not suggested it to him, and who was not conscious of the injustice of acting contrary to it.

The claims of royal family began to appear sacred to a thousand persons, who a moment before had not reflected on them. Spain, whose attempt was frustrated by this edict, might have still warded off the blow, had she united with the Lorrains, whom it equally struck at; but the more she thought she was entitled to depend upon their suffrages, the more irreconcileable was her enmity toward them, when she found they had betrayed her. They made her no offers, and their constant misunderstanding insensibly paved the way for the victory of their common adversary.

To accomplish this, there remained but one step to be taken, which was prevented by the strong opposition of the clergy *. A stop therefore was put to the affair for some time: they resumed, as if for amusement, some of their former worn-out projects: Different hopes were again raised to be soon and effectually extinguished; for there was not one per-

ry, Peter d'Amours, Lazarus Coqueley, &c. were the chief promoters of this edict; in consequence of it, the president le Maitre, with the counsellors de Fleury and d'Amours, were deputed that same day, to make remonstrances to the duke of Maïenne, as lieutenant-general of the crown. The duke complained bitterly of this affront from the parliament; and the archbishop of Lyons, who was with him, having repeated the word *affront* in a passion, and treated the deputies with bad language, the president le Maitre silenced him with great authority and dignity. See vol. IX. of the Memoirs of the league. Memoirs of Nevers, vol. II. p. 635.

* All the Memoirs of these times confirm the violent proceedings and outrageous behaviour of the cardinal de Plesance, legate, and of almost all the bishops of France, and curates of Paris and the Sorbonne. "*Debourbonnez-nous, Seigneur,*" was the explication a preacher gave of these words of scripture, *Eripe me, Domine, de luto fæcis.* There are an infinite number of such circumstances, the malignity of which cannot surely be excused by zeal for the true religion. De Thou observes, that the clergy was the only one of the three estates that persisted in voting for a war.

son who did not tacitly confess, that if the king † abjured calvinism, all contest would be at an end. Every one voted for the engaging him to comply with this demand, and they applied themselves to it, not slightly as before, but from a more clear and distinct view of the true interest of the state: a view which from this moment became that of the parliament, and the whole people, and which met with no more opposition, but what some nobles for their personal interest were pleased to give it.

The dukes of Maïenne, Nemours, and Mercœur, were the most difficult to be persuaded into these measures, as was most natural, considering that they, of all others, had flattered themselves with hopes of the greatest advantage: but bad as their intentions were, they could not hinder a conference with the king from being proposed, and passed by a plurality of voices in the states. It was, however, in their power to destroy or suspend the effect, and they did not fail to do so: for this purpose they used their utmost endeavours, they set their emissaries to work, took advantage of the king's ‡ bad fortune at Selles, caused Mansfield to advance, who took Noyon, gave all the force they were able to the pope's refusing to allow the cardinal de Gondy *, and the marquis de Pisany, whom the king had sent to him, to enter Rome, or any of his holiness's territories. Could they flatter themselves, that the irregularity of these proceedings would not be commented upon, after having so often protested, that in all their actions they had only the interest of religion in view,

† It is clear at this time, that Henry IV. was not only the lawful heir to the crown, that was never disputed, but also that in his person the three races of our kings were united. See a proof in a new work entitled, Genealogical histories of all the sovereign families, in the 22d genealogical table.

‡ The journey which Henry IV. took towards Tours, and the necessity to which he reduced himself of raising the siege of the city of Selles in Berry, were then thought very considerable faults.

* Peter de Gondy, bishop of France. John de Vivonne, marquis of Pisany.

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and that they were ready to submit to Henry as soon as he should quit his erroneous opinions. No person was deceived; and although they prevented all the consequences which the conference held at Surêne, in the month of April †, might have produced, it was thought the last effort of an expiring power. It appeared plainly, that if the king, after having consented that no protestant deputy should appear at that conference, had not yet intirely complied, it was because the leaguers raised more difficulties about temporal, than the king about spiritual matters. The people, especially, were disposed to do him justice, and the sweets of a truce, which was the only benefit resulting from his conference, drew them entirely into his interests. But I now return more particularly to this prince.

He made Mante the place of his constant residence, where all his prudence was scarce sufficient to keep a party, composed of persons so opposite in their sentiments, together. He had been alarmed, at first, with the convention of the states; and with so much the more reason, as the first thought which suggested itself to his mind on that occasion, was, that an assembly, in appearance so august and respectable, would soon find a remedy for the disorders of the state. Under this apprehension, the king began to flatter the catholicks more than usual; and, as we have just seen, made some efforts to gain the pope, to the end that he might not extinguish in both parties the only hope that could hinder them from coming to an open rupture with him. It may be easily

† In the latter end of April, and during part of the month of May. See in the records, vol. 8889 of MSS. in the royal library. Villeroy's Mem. of state, vol. IV. Matthieu and Cayet, ibid. &c. The archbishop of Bourges, who pleaded the king's cause, maintained that obedience is due to pagan princes, and supported this assertion by the authority of St. Paul, the privilege of the Gallic church, and by many other unanswerable proofs. Weak as the arguments alledged by the archbishop of Lyons to the contrary were, they carried their point in this conference.

imagined, that this could not be done without awakening the discontent of the huguenots. But the king by his wisdom was beforehand with them, and it appeared, that nothing was done but in consequence of that general council of the protestants, of which we have already seen that the result has been to turn every thing into art and negotiation. When their complaints grew too loud, and the king found reason to fear that they would carry things to extremity against him, he knew how to appease them by some new military expedition, which he likewise engaged in, to convince the people still more, that a prince, who, by his kind and gracious behaviour appeared deserving of their love, was, by his valour and abilities in war, no less worthy of their obedience.

As soon as he was informed of the disunion that raged in the states, the confusion and opposition that every word gave rise to, he looked upon this assembly to be the happy means by which his designs would be accomplished, and all his perplexity now was the regulating his conduct with the great number of mediators who meddled in his affairs, as soon as it was proposed in the states to treat with him. This prince would at that time have met with no obstacle to retard his gaining possession of the crown, if he had appeared willing to satisfy the excessive demands which the nobles and other members of the league began to make him; but he was resolved that posterity should never reproach him with his having owed the royal dignity to his meanness in submitting to the rapaciousness and caprice of his subjects. That he was thus able to resist his natural inclination and ardor to ascend the throne, was a convincing proof of his being worthy of it.

I OUGHT here to do justice to some of them (the number indeed is not very great) but I am well assured that * messieurs de Belliévre, de Belin, and

* Pomponne de Belliévre, Francis de Foudoas d'Averton, Sebastian Zamet.

Zamet,

Zamet, had no view to their own interests in those applications which they made to the king. Some others there might be who behaved in the same manner, but of them I cannot speak with any certainty. As to the rest, I shall content myself with naming the principal agents deputed to the king, as well by the league and the states, as by the clergy and French nobility. I shall not repeat names already mentioned; but add to them only the cardinal de Gondy, the marechals d'Aumont and de Bouillon, the admiral de Biron, messieurs d'O, de Vitry, de Lux, Du-Plessis, la Vetriere, de Fleury, and the abbé de Chesy. A great many others remained undistinguished in this croud, although there was not one amongst them, who was not persuaded in his own mind, that he should be one day mentioned in history, as the person who had brought affairs to a conclusion. I once counted over to the king, by their names, above a hundred of those persons. These that remained would make a very fine figure here, if one could for a moment only open and display the hearts of these ardent counsellors. Vanity, the desire of favour, self-interest, vile artifice, jealousy, knavery, and treachery, would be all one would discover there.

THERE were some, who till the last moment did not quit their disguise, by which they abused the privilege of conferring with this prince, in order to betray him more securely, and to spread snares for him, which any other could not have escaped. It is with regret, that I name Villeroy * and Jeannin

* In the first volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of state, which consists only of a justification of this secretary's conduct, he candidly confesses that he would never have been prevailed upon to engage in the party of Henry IV. if he had not beforehand taken all the necessary measures for the security of the catholic religion. He confesses also, with the same sincerity, his connections with the league and Spain; and the political principle which he had espoused, that in making peace, it was most advantageous for the king to separate him from the interest of England, and unite him with Spain. With regard to other accusations, he defends himself with great force. He protested, that he

hese; but the fact is too well known, and the confusion they were afterwards in, when the king publicly reproached them with it at Fontainbleau, is a full conviction of it, as well as the interested conduct Villeroy afterwards observed. Two days only before the king's abjuration, these gentlemen procured a secret assembly to be held, composed of the pope's, and the king of Spain's ministers, and the chief partisans of the league, either in person, or by proxy, for the dukes of Nemours and Mercœur were then absent. In this assembly, the legate made them all swear, upon the cross, the evangelists, and even the host, to maintain the league, till they saw, upon the throne of France, a king agreeable to Spain, and, above all, never to acknowledge the king of Navarre for such, though he should, to the claim his birth gave him, add that of a sincere abjuration. This very pious and charitable oath, signed by the whole assembly, was inclosed in a packet, and sent to Rome. It was from a letter wrote by the cardinal of Placentia to some members of parliament, the bearer of which was taken up at Lyons by the king's soldiers, that we came to the knowledge of

he never received any money from Spain; and whatever arguments he offered, either in the states or any other councils, were sincerely meant for the king's advantage, and to forward the peace. See the note upon this subject some pages above, and what is said in the preface to this work. As to the oath taken by the league, which the duke of Sully here mentions, and which is the heaviest article against Villeroy, he is so fully justified in Matthieu, vol. II. p. 153. and following, Chron. Novenn. book v. fol. 229. and some other historians, that it must be confessed, that this is an error in our Memoirs. According to these historians, Villeroy had not only no part in this oath, but was also absolutely ignorant of it, till Henry IV. shewed him this writing at Fontainbleau, and charged him to remonstrate the baseness of such a proceeding to the duke of Maïenne, whom Villeroy was at that time by the king's command, honestly endeavouring to separate from the league. But it is still more certain that Villeroy reproaching the duke of Maïenne with this criminal design, Maïenne answered him in these words, "I would neither tell you, nor the "president Jeannin of this oath, because I promised the Spaniards "and the league to the contrary, and was not ignorant that you would "never be brought to approve of such a remedy." Matthieu, p. 155.

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this oath. In this manner did they sport with fidelity, virtue, and religion. This circumstance, though anticipated, seems to me not improperly mentioned here.

Amongst that croud of negotiators and counsellors there were many who imagined they could deceive the king, while in reality they deceived themselves. The king let them remain in this opinion, not to persuade these schemers, but the people, that he might be easily brought to the point they wished. This I had from the king himself. I remember one night, which was, I believe, on the 15th of February, when all the courtiers had quitted his apartment, he sent Feret, his secretary, to bring me to him, who introduced me into his chamber, where I found him in bed. He owned to me, that he was under a necessity of using this precaution whenever he had an inclination to converse with me, that he might not give disgust to the catholics, and the protestants likewise, who hated me still more, perhaps, through jealousy, than the former did through a natural aversion. After complaining of this restraint in terms very obliging to me, he talked to me of those affairs which were at present upon the carpet, and of the intrigues of the courtiers to obtain each separately the honour of the decision. I had said before, and it has been repeated to the king, that I was afraid his easy disposition would make him give up more than he ought to do. But the manner in which this prince represented to me the state of affairs, and painted the different characters of all the pretenders to his favour, convinced me I had been deceived. I was surprized at that justness of penetration with which he immediately discerned truth amidst the shades that obscured it. Nor was I less charmed, when submitting his knowledge to mine, he insisted upon my prescribing to him the manner in which he should finish an affair which, to confess the truth, was not without danger till the

last moment, I endeavoured to excuse myself from accepting this honour, but all I could obtain was a delay of three days to take my resolution: it was during this conversation that the king first mentioned to me his design of entrusting his finances to my care.

After three days deep reflection, I waited upon the king with the same secrecy as before. I did not approve of any of these schemes that had been recommended to him, and which differed only in the proportion of those rewards which were to be granted to the members of the league, and other interested persons. My opinion was, that matters were not yet ripe for a conclusion, which I supported with the following reasons: That the king was freed from that only fear which could induce him to put a precipitate end to the present negotiations, by which I meant the fear that all these competitors for royalty should unite resolutely in favour of one particular person, because the misunderstanding which had already risen amongst the princes, the nobles, and the Spanish ministers, gaining strength every day, we might expect to see them soon destroy each others pretensions. From whence it must necessarily happen, that those who were disinterested, and had right intentions, would bind themselves more closely to the king's party: That this effect was already indisputable, with regard to those cities of France which were at too great a distance from the league, and the cabal, to be influenced by that eagerness and warmth which actuated them: That the heads of the league themselves, through hatred, jealousy, or even a consideration of their own interest, would one after the other, throw themselves into the king's party: That the bare hopes only which this prince would suffer them to entertain, would give him beforehand most of those advantages he could gain from the accomplishment of them, without hazarding any thing: That the dangers of a too precipitate execution were,

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first, an open desertion of the protestants, who were not yet sufficiently prepared for this change, which might produce the most fatal consequences, since the king, not being yet secure of all the catholics to oppose them, would remain at the mercy of both parties; and, secondly, the necessity he laid himself under, by throwing himself into the arms of the catholics, of granting all their demands, however exorbitant they were, which, both for the present and the future, was of dangerous consequence. That it was necessary to allow those schemers, and all the chiefs of the league, time to give a distinct form to their demands, by which they would perceive, that they were encroaching upon each other, and they would be obliged voluntarily to reduce their extravagant pretensions, to agree that by setting too high a value upon slight services they would put it out of the king's power to satisfy them, and at length to seek their own interest in the general interest of the state. I told the king, that he would find the first who took this step, would be those, who, having only been influenced by the foreign powers to demand rewards, which they were perhaps desirous of sharing with them, would begin to be sensible of the injustice of their proceedings in proportion as their hatred of those foreigners increased: and that those very foreigners, finding the king so ready to comply with the demands that were made upon him, would prevail upon others to ask for what they did not believe they could obtain for themselves.

I SHEWED the king, that, whatever change should happen in his affairs, it could not be so sudden, but he would have it in his power to prevent it, since the speaking a few words only would answer that purpose; whereas, by gaining time, he would discover all their designs; and secretly breaking those connections between them, all that remained to put an absolute end to the treaty, would be to bestow rewards upon those who had a right to demand them.

To bring affairs happily to this end, I saw nothing better to be done, than for the king to persist in the conduct he had hitherto observed. To receive every one kindly, promise little, seem desirous of bringing matters to a conclusion, ascribe always the fault of delays to obstacles, and earnestly endeavour to remove them. This, in my opinion, is the manner in which one generally ought to act in political affairs which are a little perplexed. It is well known that the difference between precipitation and diligence is, that this last, as much a foe to inaction and sloth as the other, engages in nothing without having first consulted judgment upon it; while in the practice they are almost always confounded.

In these argements which I made use of to the king, his supposed conversion was always the foundation I built upon; and his majesty, by contradicting none of them, gave me to understand, that he would not be stopped by that formality. I added only one thing more, which was, that he would not suffer this negociation to degenerate into mere debates, as his adversaries did, but join some military expedition to it. Having many other reasons to add, I offered the king to give them to him in writing. His majesty replied, there was no occasion for it; that he believed he comprehended all I could have to say to him; and that when he had more leisure, he would discourse with me upon a system, by which it seemed to him, that after having united himself to the catholics, it would not be impossible to reconcile them to the protestants.

That this resolution might be fully executed, the king, at his return to Mante, after the breaking off the conference of Surêne, caused others wholly upon the subject of religion *, to be held between the catholic priests, and the protestant clergy, at which he was always present; and, on the other hand, made preparations for opening the campaign,

* At la Villette, at Pontoise, at Mante, and elsewhere.

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in the month of April, by some action of importance, rather indeed to keep up his reputation with the people, than with design to continue in earnest a war, which for want of money he was unable to support.

This designed expedition was the siege of Dreux, for which the king borrowed a large sum of money from the city of Mantes, and leaving that place about the beginning of April, came to pass the river of Eure at Berisy, while I on my side assembled, and led the necessary artillery. The admiral de Biron †, by the king's order, invested the city, which made little resistance: all the difficulty lay in taking the castle, and especially the tower of Grise, which was impenetrable to the cannon. I promised the king to carry it, if he would give me four English and Scots miners, and a certain number of workmen. My enterprize did not fail to furnish matter for laughter and contempt to my enemies, who eagerly seized this occasion to mortify me. The king, though very doubtful of my success, granted my request. I led my miners and pioneers to the foot of this tower, where to guard them against the fire, and efforts of the besieged, I covered them with mantelets, and strong pieces of wood, and made them apply so closely, and with such eagerness to the work, that out of six and thirty pioneers, which was my whole number, four only could labour at a time: the excessive hardness of the stone exhausted their strength, and covered them with sweat the instant they began to work; but I caused them to be relieved immediately by four others; so that the work was not discontinued for one moment, although the enemies within endeavoured to destroy them, by throwing down large pieces of stone, and firing incessantly upon them.

When I found that, notwithstanding this vigo-

† Charles de Gontaut, son to the marechal, to whom the king gave the title of admiral.

rous defence, I had the very first day made an opening five feet in height, three in width, and four in depth, I believed the success infallible. Six days were consumed in this work. I enclosed three or four hundred pounds of excellent powder, in several cavities of six or seven feet square, in the thickest part of the wall, which I shut up with strong stones cemented together with plaister, leaving a passage only for two large saucisses of dry hides filled with good powder, the end of which reached to the powder within, and joined on the outside of the tower a train to which the fire was to be put. The duke of Montpensier, desirous of seeing the disposition of this machine, received a musket shot there in his face. Every one waited impatiently for my confusion, which was all the result expected from this great work. And when they were informed of the time when I was to set fire to it, they eagerly assembled to behold the effect, which was not indeed immediate: for at first a low sound was heard, accompanied with a thick smoke, during which a thousand contemptuous glances were cast upon me, and I was forced to endure as many strokes of raillery upon my mine; but I soon had my revenge. A few minutes after, a thick cloud of smoke rose as high as the tower, and, at the same instant, we saw it divided exactly into two parts, one of which fell, dragging men, women, and children with it, who were buried under its ruins. The other part continued still standing, but in such a condition, that we could behold under its uncovered roof all those that were within, who terrified and astonished at such an horrible accident, and at our soldiers firing immediately upon them, sent forth most lamentable cries. The king, moved with compassion, ordered the fire to cease, and sending for those miserable objects, gave a crown to each of them. The castle instantly surrendered, and this once I was sure, that the government of a city, taken almost wholly by

my means, would not be refused me. But d'O enjoyed the triumph of gaining it from me, and I yielded it to him, after the king had represented to me, that the terms he was upon with the catholic party made it impossible to disoblige them on so slight an occasion.

THE king stopped only to perform a few more such little expeditions, and returned immediately to Mante, to resume his conferences. This alternate succession of war, and debates, lasted all the time that the states continued to be held, and even till the day that the king abjured the protestant religion. I should betray the cause of truth, if I suffered it to be even suspected, that policy, the threats of the catholics, the fatigue of labour, the desire of rest, and of freeing himself from the tyranny of foreigners, or even the good of the people, though highly laudable in itself, had entirely influenced the king's last resolution. As far as I am able to judge of the heart of this prince, which I believe I know better than any other person, it was indeed these considerations which first hinted to him the necessity of his conversion; and I confess that I myself suggested no others to him, fully persuaded, as I have always been, although a calvinist, from what I have gathered from the most learned of the protestant clergy, that God is no less honoured in the catholic, than in the protestant church. But at length the king was fully convinced that the catholic faith * was the securest. That native candour and sincerity which I always observed in this prince, persuades me, that he would not have been able, during all the remainder of his life, to carry on such a fallacy.

THE confession I make here ought not to be judged harshly of. It is not surprizing that Henry, who

* This is the answer M. de Perefixe says he made to a protestant minister, who in a disputation with the romish doctors, was driven to confess that a man might be as well saved in their communion. The confession here made says Sully open to a very sensible attack.

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never hard any arguments about religion, but in these conferences, and continual controversies †, should suffer him to be drawn on that side, which they took care to make always victorious. For it must be observed as an effect of the king's prudent delays, that every one, even the protestants, nay more, the protestant clergy who were employed in the conferences, were at last throughly convinced that the king's change of religion was a circumstance absolutely necessary for the good of the state, for peace, and even for the advantage of both religions; so that there was a kind of general combination to draw him to it. The protestant clergy either defended themselves no longer, or did it so weakly, that their adversaries had always the advantage.

The abbé Du-Perron, whose triumph there was complete, was not a man that would lose the fruits of his victory. With that soft and insinuating conversation, that strong and persuasive eloquence, that inexhaustible fund of learning, supported by a wonderful memory, he could neither be overthrown, nor convicted of falsehood, but by the help of a whole library; a sort of languishing defence. With princes, the progression from complaisance to flattery is very easy. Some of the protestant clergy, who were most about the king, and whom he consulted upon his difficulties, formally betrayed * their faith; or,

† All these discourses of the cardinals and prelates of France, whether intended to enlighten his understanding, or increase his zeal, may be found in the volume of MS. in the king's library, marked 9. 14.

The sincerity of his conversion is there proved by the following circumstances, his respect for the pope, the cardinals, and the whole clergy, his sollicitude for the conversion of the young prince of Condé, his alliance with the pope, by marrying the princess of Florence, his endeavours to cultivate a good intelligence between the sovereign pontiff and the queen of England, the marriage of his sister with the duke of Bar, the erection of the hospital for sick, and other buildings, the sepulchre of our Lord, and the holy places, the satisfaction which he shewed at the victory gained over the calvinists by the bishop of Evreux, &c.

* D'Aubigné names some of those protestants; he observes also, that

by a designed perplexity, flattered that religion which they already looked upon to be their king's.

The leaders of the protestant party were not so easily brought to comply with the present exigency. They were often absolutely untractable. It was in vain to remonstrate to them, that by their obstinacy the king would lose the crown, and that since it was necessary it should be possessed by a catholic prince, it was an advantage to them, that this prince was the same who had so long been affectionately united with them, and upon whose friendship they had all the reason to imaginable to depend. They had flattered themselves, that they should see a prince of their own faith upon the throne, and that calvinism should be the established religion in France. They thought it hard to be deprived of this advantage. Self-love in all religions makes such a loss be looked upon as irreparable †.

The king experienced this excess of discontent, when some of the chief cities in the kingdom, that had been suffered to groan under the oppression of an infinite number of little tyrants, first applied to his majesty, and deputed the count of Belin to demand of him the freedom of commerce. Henry was either at Mante, or at Vernon, when the count of Belin came to make him this proposition, which he would not receive but in the presence of his whole council. There was not a protestant there, who appeared willing he should grant it; and what is still more surprizing, it met with equal opposition from the catholics, without their being able to assign a lawful,

that the marchioness de Monceaux, the king's mistress, acted the same part, in the hope of becoming queen herself, if Henry should be declared king. Vol. III. book iii. chap. 22.

" † If I follow your advice," replied Henry IV. to a clergyman, named la Faye, who addressed him in the name of the protestant party, " there will in a little time be neither a king or kingdom in " France. It is my desire to give peace to all my subjects, and quiet " to my own soul; consider among yourselves what is most necessary, " for your own security, you shall always find me ready to satisfy " you." Chron. Novenn. ibid.

or even a plausible reason, for such a conduct. All these persons were perplexed in their debates, and perceived plainly that their opinion would signify nothing, yet could not prevail upon themselves to alter it. The king looking at me that moment, "Monsieur de Rosny," said he to me, "what "makes you so thoughtful? Will not you speak "your mind absolutely no more than the others?" I took the word, and was not afraid to declare myself against all those that had voted, by maintaining, that it was necessary not to hesitate a moment in compleating the gaining the people over to the king's interests, by an instance of kindness which he might revoke if they made a bad use of it. This advice raised a cry of disapprobation, which I have always regarded as a retaliation for that consent I had extorted from the council (which has been mentioned before.) The king was obliged to yield to their importunity, and the count of Belin returned without success.

HENRY, reflecting upon this refusal, and judging that there wanted but little more of the same nature to alienate the people's affections from him, without a possibility of regaining them, and to enduce them to go over to the party of his enemies, he resolved to defer his abjuration no longer. He was now convinced that there was no probability of his subduing the reluctance of several of the protestants, or of ever obtaining their free consent to this proceeding *; but that it was necessary to act independently of them, and hazard some murmurs, which would end in nothing. As for the catholics of his party, the king endeavoured only to remove their fears that, look-

* Henry IV. was always sensible, that his abjuration would expose him to great dangers, which made him write in this manner to mademoiselle d'Estrées. "On Sunday I shall take a dangerous leap. "While I am writing to you, I have a hundred troublesome people "about me, which makes me detest St. Denis as much as you do "Mante," &c. See the new edition of Henry the Great's letters.

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ing upon them as persons of whom he was already secure, he would apply himself wholly to the gaining the rest, by bestowing all rewards upon them. He therefore at last declared publicly, that on the 20th of July he would perform his abjuration, and named the church of St. Denis for this ceremony.

This declaration threw the league into confusion, and filled the hearts of the people, and the catholics of the royal party with joy. The protestants, although they had expected it, discovered their discontent by signs, and low murmurs, and did for form's sake all that such a juncture required of them; but they did not go beyond the bounds of obedience. All the ecclesiastics, with Du-Perron, intoxicated with his triumph, at their head, flocked together; every one was desirous of a share in this work. Du-Perron, for whom I had obtained the bishopric of Evreux, thought he could not shew his gratitude for it in a better manner, than by exercising his function of converter upon me. He accosted me with the air of a conqueror, and proposed to me to be present at a ceremony, where he flattered himself he should shine with such powers of reasoning as would dissipate the profoundest darkness. "Sir," replied I, "all I have to do by being present at your disputes, "is to examine which side produces the strongest "and most effectual arguments. The state of af-"fairs, your number, and your riches, require that "yours should prevail." In effect they did. There was a numerous court at St. Denis, and all was conducted with great pomp and splendor. I may be dispensed with dwelling upon the description of this ceremony here, since the catholic historians* have been so prolix upon that subject.

* See, besides the abovementioned historians, Mezerai, and the volume of MS. marked 8935, in the king's library, where may be found likewise the letter written to his holiness by the king, the commission given to M. Du-Perron, when he went to Rome to make a tender

I DID not imagine I could be of any use at this time; therefore kept myself retired as one who had no interest in the shew that was preparing, when I was visited by Du-Perron, whom the cardinal of Bourbon had sent to me, to decide a dispute that had arose on occasion of the terms in which the king's profession of faith should be conceived. The catholic priests and doctors loaded him with all the trifles their heads were filled with, and were going to make it a ridiculous, instead of a grave and solemn composition. The protestant ministers, and the king himself disapproved ‡ of the puerilities and trifles with which they had stuffed this instrument, and it occasioned debates which had like to have thrown every thing again into confusion.

I WENT immediately with Du-Perron to the cardinal of Bourbon, with whom it was agreed, that none of these articles of faith which were controverted by the two churches, should be omitted, but that all the rest should be suppressed as useless. The parties approved of this regulation, and the * instrument was drawn up in such a manner, that the king acknowledged there all the roman tenets upon the Holy Scripture, the church, the number and ceremonies of the sacraments, the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, the doctrine of justification, the invocation of Saints, the worship of relics and images, purgatory, indulgences, and the supremacy

tender of obedience to the pope, and the king's declaration of the motives on which he was converted, &c.

‡ "There is no necessity to mention a requiem," said Henry IV. "I am not dead yet."

* See the original of it in the old Memoirs. Du-Plessis Mornay, and Mezeraï after him, reproached the king and the catholics, apparently without any cause, that this first instrument which they suppressed, was however the same that was sent to the pope, as if the king had composed, written, and signed it with his own hand, but in reality counterfeited, by monsieur Lomenie. These are his own words, book i. p. 198. book ii. p. 207.

and

and power of the pope †. After which the satisfaction was general ‡.

† Another act of equal validity, by which Henry IV. acknowledges the pope's authority, is the declaration which he made after his conversion, that it was necessity and the confusion of affairs that obliged him to receive absolution from the prelates of France, rather than from those of the holy father. This declaration is recorded in the third volume of Villeroy's Memoirs of state, p. 61.

‡ It was Renaud, or Beaune de Samblancai, archbishop of Bourges, who received the king's abjuration; the cardinal of Bourbon, who was not a priest, and nine other bishops, assisted at the ceremony. Henry IV. entering the chapel of St. Denis, the archbishop said to him, "Who are you?" Henry replied, "I am the king." "What "is your request?" said the archbishop. "To be received," said the king, "into the pale of the catholic, apostolic, and roman church." "Do you desire it?" added the prelate. "Yes, I do desire it," replied the king. Then kneeling, said, "I protest and swear, in the presence of almighty God, to live and die in the catholic, apostolic, "and roman religion; to protect and defend it against all its enemies, at the hazard of my blood and life, renouncing all heresies "contrary to this catholic, apostolic, and roman church." He afterwards put this same confession in writing, into the hands of the archbishop, who presented him his ring to kiss, giving him absolution with a loud voice, during which *Te Deum* was sung, &c. See a particular account of the ceremony in the historians. Cayet, book v. p. 222 and following. Matthieu, &c.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.